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# HISTORICAL DISCOURSES,

ON THE COMPLETION OF

TWO HUNDRED YEARS, FROM THE BEGINNING

OF THE

FIRST CHURCH IN NEW HAVEN,

WITH AN APPENDIX.

BY LEONARD BACON,
PASTOR OF THE FIRST CHURCH IN NEW HAVEN.

"Ye temples, that to God
Rise where the fathers trod,
Guard well your trust,
The *truth* that made them free,
The *faith* that dar'd the sea,
Their cherish'd *purity*,
Their garner'd *dust*."

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# PREFACE.

THE completion of two hundred years from the settlement of the town and colony of New Haven, was celebrated with appropriate religious and civic observances, on the 25th of April, 1838. As the Church with which I am connected as pastor, is coeval with the colony, and was indeed the parent of the civil state, it seemed proper for me to notice in the pulpit an occasion so interesting. In compliance therefore with the expressed desires of many without, as well as within, the circle of my pastoral charge, I undertook to prepare one or more discourses illustrative of our ecclesiastical history, little thinking of such a volume as this. But as I proceeded, from one Sabbath evening to another, I found the materials so abundant, and the expressions of interest on the part of the hearers were so strong, that my discourses, instead of being, according to my first expectation, three or four, became thirteen.

The interest, not to say the value, of history, depends chiefly upon details. I might have summed up the history of this Church in a few paragraphs; but in that form it would have been dry and unprofitable. Need I, then, apologize, for the minuteness of this history? Why may not the 'annals of a parish' be as lively with illustrations of human nature, and as rich in important practical lessons, as the annals of an empire?

If in speaking of the fathers of New England, and particularly of New Haven, I have insisted more on their virtues than on their faults and errors, it is partly because while

their faults have been often and sufficiently blazoned, their virtues have been, to the popular mind, but imperfectly illustrated; and partly because we in this age are far more likely to forget their virtues, than to adopt their errors, or to imitate their faults. If I have spoken freely of the secular constitution of the Church of England, and of the evils resulting from it which made our fathers exiles, it is no more than becomes a man and an American; and the candid reader will observe, that in so doing, I have not spoken at all of the Episcopal Church as it is organized in this country. I am far from imputing to American bishops, chosen by the people of their charge, and responsible to those who choose them, the sins of English prelates under the Stuarts. A man might even believe that Laud deserved to die on the scaffold as a traitor to the liberties of England, and yet think none the worse of Bishop White.

Historical Discourses, even though prefaced with a text of Scripture, are not sermons, and ought not to be judged as if they were. If the reader finds words or passages unsuited to the gravity of the pulpit, he may be reminded that the printed book is not exactly what was uttered in the congregation. More than half the volume has been written since the last of the discourses was delivered; and though the original form has been retained, the expression has frequently been changed, and the didactic and religious reflections, appropriate to the time and place, have been generally omitted.

The sources from which I have derived my information, are generally referred to in marginal notes. Yet in this place some more distinct acknowledgment seems due to those, by whose labors so much has been done to illustrate the early history of New England. But why should I speak of the many occasional discourses which have treated of the history of particular towns or Churches, or of the more stately and elaborate works of Trumbull, Holmes, and Hutchinson? To name the thirty seven volumes of the Massachusetts Historical Society; the notes on Morton's Memorial by Judge Davis; the accurate transcript of Winthrop's History, by Mr.

Savage, with the vast and various lore in the notes of the transcriber, is to praise them: without these works as examples of what diligence can do, as guides showing how such investigations are to be conducted, and as sources of information, I should have done nothing. And in naming the last of these works, I am reminded of my obligations to the first editor of Winthrop. The perusal and reperusal of "Winthrop's Journal," together with the study of Trumbull's first volume, made me feel when I was yet a boy, that the New England race "is sprung of earth's best blood." And knowing as I now know, under what disadvantages that first edition was published, before the public had begun to be interested in such documents, before even Massachusetts had a historical society, by the unaided enterprise of a young man to whom the undertaking was attended with heavy pecuniary sacrifices; and knowing how much historical inquiries in New England have been stimulated and aided by that publication; I cannot but regard it as not among the least of the many debts of American literature to the now venerable lexicographer. Mr. Savage's more perfect and more fortunate edition, the fruit of years of learned toil, cheered by the co-operation of enthusiastic antiquaries, aided by appropriations from the treasury of a generous commonwealth, and greeted by an applauding public that had already learned to honor its ancestry, needed not the poor recommendation of disparaging censures upon its predecessor.

I must be allowed to add my acknowledgment of the aid which I have received in these studies, from the learning and kindness of Professor Kingsley. Certainly it was a rare privilege, to be able to avail myself continually of hints and counsels, from one so familiar with the written and unwritten history of New England, and especially of Connecticut.

Some of my friends have expressed a little impatience at the delay of this publication. The mere magnitude of the volume will probably be to them a sufficient apology for the delay. Had I been told twelve months ago, that within a year I should prepare and publish such a volume, gathering

the materials from so many different sources, few of which I had at that time even explored, I should have smiled at the extravagance of the prediction. Yet the work has been done, and that in the midst of public labors and domestic cares.

And now in dismissing the last page of a work which with all the fatigues and midnight vigils it has cost me, has been continually pleasant, I desire to record my thanks to the divine providence which has permitted me to begin and finish this humble memorial. May He who hath said that the righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance, accept the unworthy service.

New Haven, February, 1839.

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# DISCOURSE I.

## CAUSES OF THE COLONIZATION OF NEW ENGLAND.—THE SPIRIT OF THE FIRST PLANTERS.

PSALM lxxx, 8—11.—Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt; thou hast cast out the heathen and planted it. Thou preparedst room before it, and didst cause it to take deep root, and it filled the land. The hills were covered with the shadow of it; and the boughs thereof were like the goodly cedars. She sent out her boughs to the sea and her branches to the river.

THIS is the first Sabbath in the third century of the history of this religious congregation. Two hundred years have just been completed since the fathers and founders of this Church first united in public worship, on the spot which they had chosen for their home, and to which they had borne the ark and the ordinances of their God. Within these two centuries, great revolutions—one after another—have changed the aspect of the world; thrones have been overturned, dynasties have arisen and passed away; empires have been reared and have fallen; nations have perished, and nations have been born; and, what is more, opinions, systems, dynasties and and empires in the world of thought, have flourished and have departed; but amid all these changes, God has been worshiped here through Jesus Christ, from Sabbath to Sabbath, with no recorded interruption. The fire of pure and spiritual worship, kindled by the founders of this Church so long ago, still burns upon their altar and amid their graves.

On such an occasion, I need offer no apology for departing somewhat from the usual forms and topics of pulpit instruction. I propose to speak of the various causes which led to the founding of this Church, and of the character of those who in successive generations have maintained its ordinances and enjoyed its privileges. And as I wish to make the occasion instructive to all, to the less informed as well as to those who have had greater advantages, I shall freely enter into the

statement of some historical details, with which many are entirely familiar.

This western world—America—was discovered by Columbus, near the close of the fifteenth century, (A. D. 1492.) The discovery of America was preceded by the invention of the art of printing, (A. D. 1455, the date of the first printed book,) and by the revival of learning in Europe which ensued upon the capture of Constantinople by the Turks and the extinction of the Greek Christian empire, (A. D. 1453,) and the consequent dispersion of learned Greeks over Europe; and it was very soon followed by the commencement of the Protestant Reformation, (A. D. 1517.) These four great events, occurring within the compass of a single lifetime, have wrought, by their combined influence, such changes in the condition of the world, that the age in which they occurred is the most memorable in the annals of mankind, save only the age in which the world was redeemed by the Son of God.

When America was discovered by the Spaniards, the tropical regions, from Mexico to Brazil, enjoying a climate without any winter, rich in all the natural means of subsistence and enjoyment, abounding in gold and silver and precious stones, adorned in some places with temples and palaces and populous cities, and inhabited by nations whose half-armed effeminacy, could offer no effectual resistance to the strength of European warriors, clad in iron, and equipped with the terrific implements of modern warfare, presented such a field as was never before opened to human rapacity. In a few years, the Spanish monarchy, by invasion and violence, by cruelty and treachery, had become possessed of vast provinces and rich dependent kingdoms in America. Portugal, then one of the most considerable powers of Christendom, had at the same time laid the foundations of her great western empire. What effect the planting of such colonies, founded in rapine, and moulded by the combined influences of Popery in religion and of despotism in government, has had on the progress of the world in freedom, knowledge, and happiness, I need not show in detail. Those colonies and conquests poured back indeed

upon the parent empires, broad streams of wealth; and Spain and Portugal with their possessions in the west, were for a few short ages the envy of the world. But all prosperity, whether of individuals or of nations, that does not spring from honest industry and from the arts of peace, brings curses in its train. The wealth which Spain and Portugal derived from their possessions in America has been their ruin. And from the hour in which they, weak and paralyzed, were no longer able to retain their grasp upon their American provinces—from the hour in which the various countries from Mexico to Brazil became independent, what a sea of anarchy has been tossing its waves over those wide realms, so gorgeous with the lavished wealth of nature. It may even be doubted whether there is, at this hour, in Mexico or in Peru, a more stable and beneficent government, or a more numerous, comfortable and virtuous population, than there was before the atrocious conquests of Cortez and Pizarro. What substantial benefit has accrued to the world from the planting of Spanish colonies in America? What, beyond the benefit of having one more illustration, on the grandest scale, of the truth so often illustrated in history, that to nations, as to individuals, the wages of crime is death.

The success of Spain, and the reports of adventurers who came back to Europe enriched with spoils, excited the cupidity of other nations to similar enterprises. England, among the rest, was ambitious to have tributary provinces in the new world, from which gold and gems should come, to fill the treasury of her king, and to augment the riches and splendor of her nobility. One expedition after another was planned and undertaken, in the hope of acquiring some country which should be to England, what Mexico and Peru had been to Spain. And when in consequence of successive and most discouraging failures, such hopes began to be abandoned; and plans of colonization, and cultivation, and rational commerce, had succeeded to dreams of romantic conquest and adventure—when commercial companies with royal grants and charters, actuated by ordinary commercial motives, at-

tempted to establish settlements in North Carolina and Virginia, and upon the bleak coast of Maine, the disappointments and disasters which ensued, demonstrated that another call, and another sort of charter, and other and higher impulses, were necessary to success. Commercial enterprise, cheered by royal patronage, and availing itself of the genius of Raleigh and the adventurous energy of Smith, sent forth its expeditions without success. The wilderness and the solitary place would not be glad for them, and it seemed as if the savage was to roam over these wilds forever.

But the fullness of time was approaching. Other causes, the working of which was obvious to all, but the tendency of which no human mind had conjectured, were operating to secure for religion, for freedom, and for science too, their fairest home, and the field of their brightest achievements.

The reformation from Popery, which Wycliffe attempted in the fourteenth century, and for which Huss and Jerome of Prague were martyrs in the fifteenth, was successfully begun by Luther in Germany, and by Zuingle in Switzerland, about the year 1517—twenty-five years after the discovery of America. The minds of men having been prepared beforehand, not only by the writings of Wycliffe and the martyrdom of Huss and Jerome, but also by the new impulse and independence which had been given to thought in consequence of the revival of learning then in progress, and by the excitement which the discovery of a new world, and of new paths and regions for commerce, had spread over Europe; and the invention of printing having provided a new instrumentality for the diffusion of knowledge and the promotion of free inquiry—only a few years elapsed from the time when Luther in the university of Wittemberg, and Zuingle in the cathedral of Zurich, made their first efforts, before all Europe was convulsed with the progress of a great intellectual and moral emancipation.

The reformation was essentially the assertion of the right of individual thought and opinion, founded on the doctrine of individual responsibility. Popery puts the consciences of the laity into the keeping of the priesthood. To the priest you

are to confess your sins; from him you are to receive penance and forgiveness; he is to be responsible for you, if you do as he bids you; to him you are to commit the guidance and government of your soul, with implicit submission. Life and immortality are only in the sacraments which he dispenses; death and eternal despair are in his malediction. You are to do what he enjoins; you are to believe what he teaches; he is accountable to God—you are accountable to him. The reformation, on the contrary, puts the Bible into every man's hand, and bids him believe, not what the priesthood declares, not what the Church decrees, but what God reveals. It tells him, Here is God's word; and for your reception or rejection of it, you are individually and directly accountable to God. Thus it was that from the beginning—though princes and statesmen did not always so regard it—the cause of the reformation was every where essentially the cause of freedom, of manly thought, and bold inquiry; of popular improvement, of universal education. When religion, instead of being an affair between man and his priest, becomes an affair between man and his God; the dignity of man as man at once outshines the dignity of pontiffs and of kings. By the doctrine of the reformation, men though fallen and miserable in their native estate, are yet, in the estate to which they are raised as redeemed by Christ, as emancipated by the truth, and as anointed by the Holy Spirit—"kings and priests unto God."

In England—always to be named with reverential affection as the father-land of our fathers—the seeds of truth and spiritual freedom, sown by Wycliffe a hundred and fifty years before Luther's time, were never entirely extirpated. And when Germany and Switzerland began to be agitated with the great discussions of the reformation, men were soon found in England, who sympathized with the reformers, and secretly or openly adopted their principles. But in that country, peculiar circumstances gave to the reformation of the national Church a peculiar form and aspect.

The English king at that period, was Henry VIII. He was, for a prince, uncommonly well educated in the scholastic

learning of the age; and not long after the commencement of the reformation, he signalized himself, and obtained from the Pope the honorary title of "Defender of the Faith," by writing a Latin volume in confutation of the heresies of Luther. But afterwards, wishing to put away his wife on account of some pretended scruple of conscience, and not being able to obtain a divorce by the authority of the Pope, who had strong political reasons for evading a compliance with his wishes, he quarreled with the Pope, (1529,) and began to reform after a fashion of his own. Without renouncing any doctrine of the Romish Church, he declared the Church of England independent of the see of Rome; he assumed all ecclesiastical power into his own hands, making himself head of the Church; he confiscated the lands and treasures of the monasteries; he brought the bishops into an abject dependence on his power; he exercised the prerogative of allowing or restraining at his pleasure the circulation and use of the Scriptures; and, with impartial fury, he persecuted those who adhered to the Pope, and those who abjured the errors of Popery. The religion of the Church of England, under his administration, was Popery, with the king for pope.

During the short reign of Edward VI, (1547,) or rather of the regents who governed England in his name, the king himself being under age, the reformation of the English Church was commenced with true good-will, and carried forward as energetically and rapidly as was consistent with discretion. Thus when the bloody Queen Mary succeeded to the throne, (1553,) and attempted to restore, by sword and faggot, the ancient superstition, hundreds were found who followed the protomartyr Rogers, and like him sealed their testimony at the stake; and hundreds more, of ministers and other intelligent and conscientious men, having the opportunity of flight, found refuge for a season in the various Protestant countries of the continent. At the places at which these exiles were hospitably received, and particularly at Geneva, they became familiar with forms of worship, and of discipline, more completely purified from Popery, than the forms

which had as yet been adopted or permitted in their native country. Among the English exiles in the city of Frankfort, who had the privilege of uniting in public worship in their own language, there arose a difference of opinion. Some were for a strict conformity of their public services to the order which had been established in England under King Edward, while others considered themselves at liberty to lay aside every thing which savored of superstition, and to imitate the simplicity which characterized the Reformed Churches around them. These were denominated by their adversaries, "Puritans;" and the dispute at Frankfort in the year 1554, is commonly regarded by historians as marking the beginning of the Puritan party.

When the reign of Queen Elizabeth commenced, (1558,) the exiles returned, expecting that a princess educated in the Protestant faith, whose title to the throne was identified with the Protestant cause, would energetically carry forward the reformation which had been begun under the reign of her brother, but which by his premature death had been left confessedly imperfect. This expectation was disappointed. The new Queen was more the daughter of Henry than the sister of Edward. She seemed to dislike nothing of Popery but its inconsistency with her title to the throne, and its claims against her ecclesiastical supremacy. The doctrines of the Church of England, as set forth in its articles, were indeed truly and thoroughly Protestant, being originally conformed to the views of Calvin and other illustrious reformers on the continent; but the discipline was not reformed—no adequate provision being made for excluding the unworthy from communion in sacraments, or for securing to the people an intelligent, evangelical, teaching clergy; the liturgy was only partially reformed—it being made to follow, more closely than in King Edward's time, the Popish missals from which it had been compiled and translated; and finally the vestments and ceremonies which in the popular mind were inseparably associated with superstitious notions, and against which the Puritans had a strong dislike, were scrupulously enjoined and

maintained. Those ministers who, in any particular, neglected to conform to the prescribed ceremonies and observances, were called "Non-conformists;" and though their nonconformity was sometimes connived at by this or that more lenient bishop, and sometimes went unpunished because of the danger of exciting popular odium, every such minister was always liable to be suspended or silenced; and many of them, though the ablest and most efficient preachers in the kingdom, at a time when not more than one out of four of the clergy could preach at all,* were forbidden to preach, and were deprived of all their employments.

The Puritans, it will be remembered, were not a secession from the Church of England; they were only that party within the Church, which demanded a more thorough reformation. Their hopes as a party were kept alive, not only by the consciousness that the force of argument was on their side, with no inferiority in respect to talents and learning; but partly by the growing popularity of their opinions; partly by the favor of those politic and far-seeing statesmen, who, so far as the Queen's willfulness would permit, controlled her government by their counsels; and partly by the prospect that the Queen's successor on the throne might be himself a Puritan.

James Stuart, King of Scotland, became King of England on the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603. As he had reigned over a kingdom thoroughly reformed, and had been educated under influences favorable to the simplest and strictest forms of the Protestant religion, and had often professed in the most solemn manner a hearty attachment to those forms, it was hoped, notwithstanding his known instability of character and his fondness for the pomp and forms of kingly power, that he might be inclined to bring the ecclesiastical state of England, in its discipline and worship, nearer the pattern of the reformed Churches. Accordingly while he was on his way to the metropolis of his new kingdom, he was met with

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* Hallam, Constitutional History of England, I, 270.

a petition signed by more than eight hundred ministers of the Church of England, praying for the reformation of certain particulars in worship and discipline, but not aimed at all against the principle of prelacy, or the principle of prescribed forms of public prayer. Not one of the least of these requests was granted; on the contrary, the Puritans soon found that the chances of hereditary succession had placed over them as their king, a low minded, vain-glorious, pedantic fool, to whom the more than oriental adulation with which courtly prelates fawned upon him, was dearer than the honor of God and the welfare of the people. A specimen of what they might expect under his reign was given, in the imprisonment of ten of the ministers who had presented the reasonable and moderate petition for reform—the offense of presenting such a petition having been declared in the Star-chamber to be "fineable at discretion, and very near to treason and felony, as it tended to sedition and rebellion."*

From such persecution, pious and resolute men who loved liberty and purity even more than they loved their native soil, soon began to retreat into other countries. Some had begun to separate themselves professedly from the Church of England, as despairing of its reformation, and to organize themselves independently of the civil state, framing their ecclesiastical institutions according to their own understanding of the word of God. A small congregation of such persons, "finding by experience that they could not peaceably enjoy their own liberty in their native country," removed with their families from the North of England into Holland, and in the year 1610 settled themselves in the city of Leyden; "and there," in the language of one of them, "they continued divers years in a comfortable condition, enjoying much sweet society and spiritual comfort in the ways of God;" "having for their pastor Mr. John Robinson, a man of a learned, polished and modest spirit, pious, and studying of the truth, largely accomplished with spiritual gifts and

* Hallam, I, 406.

qualifications to be a shepherd over this flock of Christ; having also a fellow helper with him in the eldership, Mr. William Brewster, a man of approved piety, gravity and sincerity, very eminently furnished with gifts suitable to such an office."*

This little Church, after a few years' residence in Holland, finding that in the city of strangers where they were so hospitably received, they labored under many disadvantages, especially in regard to the education of their children, and moved also by "a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto, for the propagating and advancement of the kingdom of Christ," "yea, although they should be but as stepping stones unto others for the performance of so great a work,"—determined on a removal to America; and on the 22d of December, 1620, one hundred of the Leyden pilgrims, including men, women, and little children, landed from the Mayflower on the rock of Plymouth. Then first the ark of God rested upon the soil of New England, and made it "holy ground." Let the annual return of that wintry day be bright in the hearts of the sons of New England,

> "Till the waves of the bay where the Mayflower lay
> Shall foam and freeze no more."

Meanwhile the Puritans in England were striving and suffering in vain. Reluctant, for the most part, to admit the idea of separation from the national Church, they waited and prayed, and struggled to obtain a more perfect reformation. Their cause grew in favor with the people and with the Parliament, for it was felt to be the cause of Protestantism, of sobriety and godliness, and of civil liberty. But the monarch, and those dependent creatures of the monarch, the prelates, appointed by his pleasure, and accountable to him alone,

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* Morton's Memorial. The pastor of the Leyden pilgrims never came to New England. His son Isaac Robinson was however one of the early settlers of Scituate, in Plymouth colony. From Isaac Robinson was descended the mother of the second Governor Trumbull.

were steady in the determination to have no reform, and to enforce submission. Five years after the settlement of Plymouth, King James was succeeded by his son Charles I, who with more gravity and respectability of personal character than belonged to his father, pursued the same despotic policy, in the Church, and in the civil state, which made his father odious as well as contemptible. His principal adviser was William Laud, a narrow minded aud bitter enemy of all who desired any farther reformation in ecclesiastical discipline, a systematic corrupter of the established doctrines of the Church, a superstitious promoter of pomp and ceremony in religion, more a friend to Rome than to Geneva or to Augsburg, a hater of popular rights and of the ancient liberties and common law of England, and the constant adviser of all arbitrary methods of government. This man, being made bishop of London, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, and having the king almost absolutely under his control, brought the despotic powers of the Star-chamber and of the High Commission Court to bear with new terrors, not only upon non-conforming clergymen, but upon men of other professions who dared to express an opinion in favor of reformation.*

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* William Prynne, Esq., a barrister at law, for writing a learned but tedious book entitled *Histriomastix*, against plays, masques, dancing, and other things of the same kind, which was construed into a libel on the Queen, inasmuch as her majesty was a patron of such diversions,—was condemned in the Star-chamber "to have his book burnt by the hands of the common hangman, to be put from the bar, and to be forever incapable of his profession, to be turned out of the society in Lincoln's-Inn, to be degraded at Oxford, to stand on the pillory at Westminster and Cheapside, to lose both his ears, one in each place, to pay a fine of five thousand pounds, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment." This was in 1633. Neal, II, 276.

A few months afterwards, Dr. Bastwick, a physician, having published a book which denied the divine right of bishops as an order superior to presbyters, was condemned by the High Commission to be excluded from the practice of his profession, to be excommunicated, to be fined a thousand pounds, and to be imprisoned till he should recant. *Ibid*, 278.

Three years before, Dr. Alexander Leighton, a Scotch divine, whose son was afterwards the excellent Archbishop Leighton—for having published a book against prelacy, had suffered a still more cruel punishment. The book

In these circumstances, the same spirit that had led the Pilgrims of Leyden to Plymouth, led others, in greater numbers, and with more adequate means, to attempt the establishment of religious colonies in America. Eight years after the settlement of Plymouth, the colony of Massachusetts Bay was commenced by Endicott and his company at Salem; and in 1630, Boston and the surrounding towns were occupied by the illustrious Winthrop and the hundreds of emigrants who followed him. In 1635, the first beginnings were made on the Connecticut river, at Hartford and at Saybrook; and in 1638, on the 15th of April, (Old Style,) that being the Lord's day, there was heard upon this spot the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord; and under the open sky, bright with the promise of a new era of light and liberty, a Christian congregation, led by a devoted, learned and eloquent minister of Christ, raised their hearts to God in prayer, and mingled their voices in praise.

How easily may the imagination, acquainted with these localities, and with the characters and circumstances of the men who were present on that occasion, run back over the two centuries that have passed, and bring up the picture of that first Sabbath! Look out upon the smooth harbor of Quinnipiack. It lies embosomed in a wilderness. Two or three small vessels, having in their appearance nothing of the characteristic grace, lightness and life of the well known

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appears to have had a pretty strong savor of Scotch acrimony; and the author was censured accordingly. The unanimous judgment of the Star-chamber was, that he should "pay a fine of ten thousand pounds; that the High Commission should degrade him from his ministry; and that then he should be brought to the pillory at Westminster, while the Court was sitting, and whipped; after whipping be set upon the pillory a convenient time, and have one of his ears cut off, one side of his nose slit, and be branded in the face with a double S. S. for a sower of sedition: that then he should be carried back to prison, and after a few days be pilloried a second time in Cheapside, and be then likewise whipped, and have the other side of his nose slit, and his other ear cut off, and then be shut up in close prison for the remainder of his life." *Ibid*, 235.

American vessels which are in these days found shooting over every sea, lie anchored in the distance. Here, along the margin of a creek, are a few tents, and some two or three rude huts, with the boxes and luggage that were landed yesterday, piled up around them; and here and there a little column of smoke, going up in the still morning air, shows that the inmates are in motion. Yet all is quiet; though the sun is up, there is no appearance of labor or business; for it is the Sabbath. By and by the stillness is broken by the beating of a drum; and from the tents and from the vessels, a congregation comes gathering around a spreading oak. The aged and the honored are seated near the ministers; the younger, and those of inferior condition, find their places farther back; for the defense of all, there are men in armor, each with his heavy unwieldy gun, and one and another with a smoking matchlock. What a congregation is this, to be gathered in the wilds of New England. Here are men and women who have been accustomed to the luxuries of wealth in a metropolis, and to the refinements of a court. Here are ministers who have disputed in the universities, and preached under Gothic arches in London. These men and women have come into a wilderness, to face new dangers, to encounter new temptations. They look to God; and words of solemn prayer go up, responding to the murmurs of the woods and of the waves. They look to God whose mercy and faithfulness have brought them to their land of promise,—and for the first time since the creation, the echoes of these hills and waters are wakened by the voice of praise. The word of God is opened; and their faith and hope are strengthened for the conflicts before them, by contemplating the conflict and the victory of Him, who, in all things the example of his people, was once, like them, "led forth by the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the Devil."*

* Mr. Davenport's sermon on the first Sabbath after the landing, was from Matt. iv, 1, "on the temptation in the wilderness." Kingsley, 80.

Of the many Puritans who came to New England at its first planting, none, save the Pilgrims of Plymouth, had renounced the Church of England, or separated themselves from its communion. None, save those of Plymouth, came with their ecclesiastical institutions already organized. The Church of which Robinson was pastor, and Brewster ruling elder, was formed in England, on the principle of separating from the establishment, and renouncing all connection with it; and when they came to America, they came as Englishmen indeed, loving their native country, but not as sustaining any relation to the Church of England, from which they had long before come out to be separate. The others, however, those of Salem and Boston, those of Connecticut, and those of New Haven, while they "came over with a professed intention of practising church reformation,"—came not as separatists; they disavowed such an imputation as slanderous; they declared that "they did not separate from the Church of England, nor from the ordinances of God there, but only from the corruptions and disorders there." In England, the difference between the separatists and the non-conformists was a difference of no trivial moment. The practical question upon which they were divided, was a question involving great principles. To the separatist, the mere non-conformist was one who had communion with idolatry, and with a systematized usurpation of the rights of Jesus Christ as head of the Church. To the non-conformist, the separatist was one who divided the body of Christ, and tore himself away not only from that which was corrupt and disorderly in the Church, but from the Church itself, and from the ordinances there. And when men who suffer in the same cause, are divided in respect to the great practical principles by which that cause is to be promoted, the division cuts to the quick, and often produces the most painful and lasting alienations. But in the free air of New England, the division between the separatist and the non-conformist was at an end. The Pilgrims of Plymouth and the Puritans of Salem greeted each other with a cordial welcome, and forgot

that there had ever been a difference between them. They all felt, whether upon the Bay or upon the River, whether at Plymouth or at New Haven, that they had come into the same wilderness, in the face of the same dangers, for the same high end, "freedom to worship God"—freedom to build the house of God according to the pattern of God's word. And here by their united prayers, by their free and strenuous investigations and their harmonious counsels, by their manly toils, and their magnanimous self-denials, under a sense of great responsibility to God for his honor and for the welfare of other generations, they framed a system of ecclesiastical order, and a system of civil government, each perfectly congenial to the other, and each without a parallel or a model, save the pattern which God showed them in the mount, as they communed with the Spirit of his wisdom recorded in his word.

Thus it was that New England was planted. Thus it was that this Church was placed here in the wilderness. The planting of North America upon merely mercenary and selfish principles had been attempted once and again, and had failed. Our fathers and predecessors came under the influence of higher motives, and of a holier inspiration. They came, actuated by a great and sublime idea,—an idea from the word and mind of God,—an idea that made them courageous to attempt, wise to plan, strong to suffer, and dauntless to persevere. Their souls were exalted to a perception of the grandeur of their undertaking and of the vast results that were suspended on its success. They were inspired by a living sympathy with the designs of that Almighty providence, which led them into this boundless wilderness, that for them the wilderness and the solitary place might be glad, and the desert rejoice abundantly with joy and singing. Thus they could write upon their banner those words of Puritan faith and devotion, "He who transplanted us, sustains us." Whoever looks upon the armorial bearings of Connecticut,—the three vines which God brought out of Egypt and planted, for which he prepared room, before which he cast

out the heathen, which he caused to take deep root, till they sent out their boughs to the river and their branches to the sea, and till the hills were covered with their shadow, and their boughs were like the cedars of God,—whoever reads that simple yet inspiring motto, brighter from age to age with glorious remembrances,—may see for what ends, in what spirit, and by whose power and guidance, our fathers came into this wilderness.*

Let their spirit be ours. Woe to that man who amid the memorials, and enjoying the fruits of their toils and sufferings, breathing the air every murmur of which seems to whisper their reverend names—woe to the man who amid their altars and upon their graves, forsakes their God—rejects their Saviour—and recreant to their principles, lives only to himself instead of living for God, for posterity, and for the world.

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* I know not to whom we are indebted for the exquisite device and motto of the arms of Connecticut; but in the absence of evidence it is not unnatural to suppose that the three vines—alluding to those three independent settlements, the river towns, the Saybrook fort, and the New Haven jurisdiction—and the motto, *Qui transtulit sustinet*, are a specimen of the good taste of Governor Winthrop, whose diplomatic skill and personal favor with Charles II, obtained the free charter of 1662; and whose wisdom and popularity, united so happily, under that charter, a people otherwise greatly divided.

# DISCOURSE II.

THE FOUNDATIONS LAID IN CHURCH AND COMMONWEALTH.—CONSTITUTION FORMED IN MR. NEWMAN'S BARN.—THE PURITANS.

PROV. IX. 1.—Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars.

THE first settlers of New England generally came hither, not for the improvement of their outward condition and the increase of their estates, not for the sake of putting in practice any abstract theory of human rights or of civil government, not even for mere liberty of conscience, but for the one great purpose of extending the kingdom of God, and promoting their welfare, and the welfare of their posterity, and the welfare of the world, by planting Christian institutions, in the purest and simplest form, upon this virgin soil. It was this purpose, which gave to their enterprise its character of heroic dignity. It was from this high purpose, that they derived the resolution which carried the enterprise through all its discouragements, and the faith which ensured its success. It was this one great purpose of theirs, which determined the form, the spirit, and the working of their civil institutions. They had seen, in their native country, the entire subjection of the Church to the supreme power of the civil state; reformation beginning, and ending, according to the caprices of the hereditary sovereign; the Church neither purified from superstition, ignorance, and scandal, nor permitted to purify itself; ambitious, time-serving, tyrannical men, the minions of the court, appointed to high places of prelacy; and faithful, skillful, and laborious preachers of the Word of God, silenced, imprisoned, and deprived of all means of subsistence, according to the interests and aims of him, or her, who by the law of inheritance, happened to be at the head of the kingdom. All this seemed to them not only preposterous,

but intolerable; and, therefore, to escape from such a state of things, and to be where they could freely "practice Church reformation," they emigrated as far from civilization, as if we were now to emigrate to Nootka Sound. Here, they determined that, whatever else might be sacrificed, the purity and liberty of their Churches should be inviolate. The Church was not to be, as in England, subordinate to the civil government,—the mere dependent creature of the secular power,—the secular commonwealth here was designed, created, framed, for no other end than to secure the being and the welfare of the Churches. "Mr. Hooker did often quote a saying out of Mr. Cartwright, that noe man fashioneth his house to his hangings, but his hangings to his house." "It is better," adds Mr. Cotton, "that the commonwealth be fashioned to the setting forth of God's house, which is his Church, than to accommodate the Church frame to the civill state."* If, then, their civil polity was essentially popular, if their political institutions have grown into the most perfect specimen of a free commonwealth which the world has ever seen, that result is to be ascribed to the popular, or as we now use words, the democratic character of their ecclesiastical polity.

With these views, when the planters of the New Haven Colony arrived here, their first care was to lay their foundations wisely and safely. In this they proceeded with great deliberation. They began, indeed, very soon after their arrival, by forming, at the close of their first day of fasting and prayer, a "plantation covenant," in which they solemnly pledged themselves to each other, and to God, "that as in matters that concern the gathering and ordering of a Church, so likewise in all public offices, which concern civil order, as choice of magistrates and officers, making and repealing of laws, dividing allotments of inheritances, and all things of like nature," they would be governed "by those rules which the Scripture holds forth." But under this general compact, they at first made only a temporary arrangement for the management of their religious and civil affairs. Their leaders

* Cotton's letter to Lord Say and Seal, in Hutchinson I, 497.

had no idea of sitting down to frame, for their colony, a constitution and code of laws beforehand, as Locke did, at a later day, for the projected colony of Carolina. They knew that it was not for them, at the first dash, to strike out a complete scheme and system of government. They knew that what is done in a hurry, often needs to be done over again as hastily; and that the public welfare depends not merely on the provisions of the written constitution, but also on the worth and fitness of the men who act under the constitution; and therefore they determined, that before proceeding to lay the foundations, not only the principles on which their fabric should be constructed, but the men who were to be employed as living stones in that temple of wisdom, should be well examined. During a period of fourteen months, while they were rearing some temporary shelters, clearing away the dense growth of the wilderness, and raising their first crops from the soil, they were praying, and fasting, and inquiring, and debating, to get wisdom for the great work of laying the foundations of their Church and of their commonwealth. The town was "cast into several private meetings, wherein they that dwelt most together gave their accounts one to another of God's gracious work upon them, and prayed together, and conferred to mutual edification," and thus "had knowledge, one of another," and of the fitness of individuals for their several places, in the foundation-work, or in the superstructure.

While these discussions were in progress, a difference of opinion appears to have arisen between Mr. Davenport, and his colleague in the ministry, Samuel Eaton, respecting the principles on which a government should be constructed, in order best to secure the ends for which the colony was founded. It has been my privilege to have before me, while pursuing my inquiries respecting the men and the transactions of that period, a treatise from the pen of Davenport, entitled, "A Discourse about Civil Government in a New Plantation whose design is Religion." From strong internal evidence, this pamphlet appears to have been written here in the woods of Quinnipiack, while the form and principles of the civil

government to be erected here, were yet unsettled, and to have been part of a written discussion which the author was maintaining with his colleague, on that subject, then so interesting to them, and so little illustrated by experience.*

At length, on the fourth, or according to the present style, the fourteenth of June, 1639, every thing having been prepared for so grand an occasion, "all the free planters"—which expression includes all who were partners in the undertaking of planting the colony—met in Mr. Newman's barn, for the purpose of laying, with due solemnities, the foundations of their ecclesiastical order, and of their civil government.† The solemnities of the occasion were introduced, it is said, by a sermon from Mr. Davenport on the words recited at the commencement of this discourse, "Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars." Then, all present having been seriously warned "not to be rash or slight in giving their votes to things they understood not," but "without respect to men, as they should be satisfied and persuaded in their own minds, to give their anwers in such sort as they would be willing they should stand upon record for posterity," they voted, unanimously, that the Scriptures do hold forth a perfect rule for the direction and government of men in all duties, as well in families

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* Some account of this treatise will be found in the Appendix No. I.

† There appears to be no reason to distrust the tradition which fixes on "Mr. Newman's barn" as the scene of that meeting. The only question is, Where was Mr. Newman's barn? When this question was proposed by the Committee of arrangements before the late Centennial celebration, it could not be answered.

Among the original planters of New Haven were two who bore the name of Newman,—Francis, who after a few years became Secretary both of the town and of the jurisdiction, and on the death of Gov. Eaton became governor of the colony,—and Robert, who was the ruling elder of the Church. Francis Newman appears to have been a young man when the town was settled; he was not a man of wealth, his estate being put in the list for taxes at only £160; and when he was made Governor, the colony provided him a house to live in. It is not at all likely that he was the proprietor of a "large barn" as early as 1639. Robert Newman on the contrary, was at the beginning one of the leading men in the colony. He was a man of con-

and commonwealth, as in matters of the Church. They unanimously renewed the great engagement of their plantation covenant, and professed that they held themselves bound, not only in all ecclesiastical proceedings, but in all civil duties, the choice of magistrates, the enactment and repeal of laws, and the dividing of inheritances,—to submit themselves to the rules held forth in the Scriptures. They unanimously expressed their "purpose, resolution, and desire, to be admitted into church-fellowship according to Christ, so soon as God should fit them thereunto." They unanimously voted that they "felt themselves bound to establish such civil order as might best conduce to the securing of the purity and peace of the ordinances to themselves and their posterity according to God."

"Then," as the record informs us, "Mr. Davenport declared to them by the Scripture, what kind of persons might best be trusted with matters of government; and by sundry arguments from Scripture proved that such men as were described in Exod. xviii, 21; Deut. i, 13, with Deut. xvii, 15, and 1 Cor. vi, 1, 6, 7"—[viz. "able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness"—"men of wisdom and understanding, and known among your tribes"—"not strangers, but brethren, and those whom the Lord your God shall choose"—"not the unjust, or the unbelieving, but the holy"]

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siderable wealth, his estate being rated at £700. He acted as scribe on the occasion in question, the minutes of the meeting being written by him; and he was chosen for one of the seven pillars. If there is any truth in the tradition, we cannot doubt that the barn was his.

But Robert Newman's name does not appear among the "original grantees" on the old Plan of New Haven published in 1806 by Col. Lyon. And where such an antiquarian failed, it is not easy to succeed. One allusion, however, which I have happened to light on, supplies this deficiency. The deed by which the town in 1685 conveyed to the Rev. James Pierpont the lot on which he lived, extending on Elm Street some distance above and below where Temple Street now is,—describes that lot as bounded, in the rear, by the lot which was once Mr. Robert Newman's, and which is thus identified as the corresponding lot in Grove Street. In other words, Mr. Newman's barn was somewhere on the ground now occupied by the dwellings of Professor Kingsley and Dr. Webster.

—"ought to be intrusted by them, seeing they were free to cast themselves into that mould and form of commonwealth which appeared best for them in reference to the securing the peace and peaceable enjoyment of all Christ's ordinances in the Church." After which, the company having been entreated "freely to consider whether they would have it voted at this time or not," it was deliberately voted that "free burgesses shall be chosen out of the church-members, they that are in the foundation-work of the Church, being actually free burgesses, and to choose to themselves out of the like estate of church-fellowship; and the power of choosing magistrates and officers from among themselves, and the power of making and repealing laws according to the Word, and the dividing of inheritances, and deciding of differences that may arise, and all the business of like nature, are to be transacted by these free burgesses." From this, after the vote had been taken, one man expressed his dissent in part. That man, though the record does not name him, was probably the Rev. Samuel Eaton, of whom it is related by several authors,* that he dissented from Mr. Davenport in respect to the principles of civil government. In expressing his dissent, "he granted, that magistrates should be men fearing God; that the Church is the company where ordinarily such men may be expected; and that they that choose them ought to be men fearing God; only at this he stuck, that free planters ought not to give this power out of their hands." Upon this a debate arose. To the reply made by some one, that whatever was done, was done with the consent of the planters, and that the government which they were forming was to originate strictly in the will of the people, the objector answered, "that all the free planters ought to resume this power into their own hands if things were not orderly carried," and therefore that this constitution which made no provision for such a contingency was defective. Mr. Theophi-

* Mather, Magn. III, 213. Dana's Sermon on the completion of the eighteenth century, 46.

lus Eaton illustrated the equity of the proposed arrangement, by showing, that in all places civil power is in the hands of a part for the benefit of the whole, and reminded them that in London, with the constitution of which city they were familiar, the companies choose the livery, and the livery choose the magistrates. "Some others," it is recorded, "entreated the former to give his arguments and reasons whereupon he dissented. He refused to do it, and said they might not rationally demand it, seeing he let the vote pass on freely, and did not speak till after it was passed, because he would not hinder what they were agreed upon." The debate having proceeded thus far, Mr. Davenport, who appears to have acted throughout as moderator of the meeting, made "a short relation of some former passages between them two about this question," and "prayed the company that nothing might be concluded by them on this weighty question, but what themselves were persuaded to be agreeing with the mind of God;" and in view of what had been said since the vote was taken, "he entreated them again to consider of it, and put it again to vote as before." It was voted again with one consent. "And some of them confessed, that whereas they did waver before they came to the assembly, they were now fully convinced."

Having thus settled this principle as "a great fundamental agreement concerning civil government," they proceeded another step towards the organization proposed. And "to prevent the blemishing of the first beginnings of the Church work, Mr. Davenport advised that the names of such as were to be admitted, might be publicly propounded, to the end that they who were most approved might be chosen,"—a method of proceeding which, as you observe, has been continued to this day, none being now received into church-fellowship till after their names have been publicly propounded. Then by the consent of all, it was agreed, "that twelve men be chosen, that their fitness for the foundation-work may be tried;" "and that it be in the power of these twelve to choose out of themselves seven, that shall be most approved of the major part, to begin the Church."

The seven pillars chosen to begin the Church, according to the arrangement just described, were Theophilus Eaton, John Davenport, Robert Newman, Matthew Gilbert, Thomas Fugill, John Punderson, and Jeremiah Dixon. By these seven persons, covenanting together, and then receiving others into their fellowship, the first Church of Christ in New Haven was gathered and constituted on the 22d of August, 1639.*

I have been the more particular in these details, because they illustrate the character, and especially the religious character of the founders of this Church. The record of the meeting in Mr. Newman's barn, has often been published,† and I presume has been regarded by many as showing conclusively a great deal of fanaticism and bigotry, on the part of the New Haven colonists. Fanaticism and bigotry are qualities that affect Christian character very seriously; and therefore it is proper to inquire here, with some attention, what the record contains, and what it does not contain; and particularly how far it gives any indications of narrowness or fanaticism.

1. There is no claim of a divine right in the Church to rule the commonwealth. There are in these proceedings no fifth-monarchy notions—no intimations that the saints as such are of right to rule the earth. This is perfectly accordant with the views of Davenport elsewhere expressed. In the "former passages," between him and his colleague, he had utterly refused to discuss the question "whether the right and power of choosing civil magistrates belongs to the Church of Christ." He said that arguments for the negative of such a question are arguments "produced to prove that which is not denied."

2. There is here no confusion of the distinct provinces of the Church and the civil state. There is no proposal to transact the least particle of the business of the common-

* This date is ascertained from the records of the First Church in Milford, which was gathered in New Haven, and, as tradition says, on the same day with the New Haven Church.

† Trumbull I, 502. Barber, Hist. and Antiq. of New Haven, 30.

wealth in any church-meeting, or to put any civil power whatever into the hands of church officers. The proposal was not that membership in the Church should invest a man with power in the government of the commonwealth. Many might debate, and vote in church-meetings who could have no voice at all in the government of the civil state. None ever marked the distinction between the church and the state more carefully than Davenport. "Ecclesiastical administrations," he says, "are a *divine* order appointed to *believers* for holy communion of *holy* things. Civil administrations are a *human* order appointed by God to *men*, for civil fellowship of *human* things." Drawing out this distinction, he says, "Man, by nature, being a reasonable and sociable creature, capable of civil order, is, or may be, the subject of civil power and state. But man by grace, called out of the world to fellowship with Jesus Christ and with his people, is the only subject of church power." And "though they both agree in this, that they have the same last end, namely, the glory of God, yet they differ in their next ends, for the next end of civil order and administrations is the preservation of human societies, in outward honor, justice, and peace; but the next end of church order and administrations are, the conversion, edification and salvation of souls, pardon of sin, power against sin, and peace with God." And not to detain you with other quotations, he insists that the ecclesiastical order and the civil must have different laws, different officers, and different power. Who has ever distinguished more accurately between the church and the state?

3. There is throughout these proceedings, a decided assertion of the right of the people to originate such a constitution of civil government, as might to them seem good. The fashion of the age was, to deduce all authority from the divine right of kings; and the theory of civil power was the theory of uninterrupted succession. But the settlers of New Haven thought, that having traveled beyond the bounds of any existing government, "they were free to cast themselves into that mould and form of commonwealth which appeared best

for them" in reference to their great design; and they had no doubt that the government which they might thus, by their voluntary compact, originate, would have as perfect an authority to exercise all the functions of government as any potentate on earth. Do you call this bigotry or fanaticism, or narrowness? Oh, no; their view has become since 1776 the only political orthodoxy on this side of the Atlantic. Yet it was this very thing, more than any merely religious peculiarities, which made New England so basely fanatical in the estimation of tory Englishmen. This strange enthusiasm of attempting to set up government by compact—this audacious doctrine, that the majesty of a state, with laws and powers ordained of God, could spring into being by the lifting up of the hands of a few exiles under the rafters of a barn, with no sanction of papal bull or royal charter—this it was, which inspired the advocates of the theory of arbitrary and hereditary power, in England, and in this country too, with so bitter and relentless a hatred of New England fanaticism.

4. There is in these proceedings no indication of an arbitrary or domineering spirit in any quarter. Nothing is done by the authority of the leaders—nothing implies that any one among them was specially endowed with any supernatural gifts of knowledge or of power, or had any right to control the opinions or conduct of the others. On the contrary, every thing is done by argument, by an appeal to reason and to Scripture. The planters are seriously warned not to "give their votes to things they understand not," and are entreated to give their answers "without respect to men, as they should be satisfied and persuaded in their own minds." Every thing is done too in the spirit of mutual confidence and affection. You see on the part of all a most respectful deference to the judgment and choice of the majority. You see the spirit of kindness, in the care with which they avoid putting upon the record, the name of the individual who was, as they esteemed it, so unfortunate as to differ from the rest in judgment. It seems to show that they were not inclined to remember it against him.

5. We find, throughout this record, a profound respect for the authority of the Scriptures as interpreted by common sense. I refer here to a very sure test of enthusiasm. So long as you find a man ready to follow the Bible in its plain, common sense meaning, as interpreted by the aid of study and learning, and on the same principles which regulate the interpretation of other books, you may be very sure that he is no enthusiast. Enthusiasts find the Bible a very unsatisfactory book, and therefore they either get above the Bible, finding their own inward light much better,—or else resort to mystical systems of interpretation, by which they evolve from the Bible some secondary, recondite, spiritual sense, better suited to the exalted state of their imaginations. I lay it down then as a rule to which it will be very difficult to find any well established exception, that the man to whom the Bible in its obvious meaning as determined by the ordinary principles of interpretation, is a sufficient rule of faith and practice—the man who first exercises his judgment, and learning, and common sense, to determine what the Bible teaches, and what is its legitimate application to his conduct, and then yields to the authority of the Bible a profound and hearty deference—is no enthusiast. And where there is no enthusiasm—where common sense, studying the Bible, and yielding to its authority, governs the mind, there you will find nothing which deserves to be called fanaticism, unless you would make out that the Bible itself is fanatical.

6. The whole record shows their earnestness and care to secure the great end of their migration hither. They knew perfectly well that there was a royal commission then in being, which gave power of protection and government over all English colonies which had been or might be planted, to their old enemy Archbishop Laud with ten other courtiers of a kindred spirit.* They knew it was intended by the court, that the same iron rod which had been so heavy upon them in their native country, should strike them here in the

* Kingsley, 14, 15. Hazard, I, 344. Hubbard, 26

wilderness. They knew that as soon as they should have built their houses and got their lands under cultivation, as soon as they should have enough of what was taxable and tithable to excite covetousness, the king would be sending over his needy profligates to govern them, and the archbishop his surpliced dependents to gather the tithes into his store-house. Knowing this, they were resolved to leave no door open for such an invasion. They came hither to establish a free Christian commonwealth; and, to secure that end, they determined, that in their commonwealth, none should have any civil power, who either would not, or could not, enter at the door of church-fellowship. "They held themselves bound," they said, "to establish such civil order as might best conduce to the securing the purity and peace of the ordinances to themselves and their posterity." Was this fanatical? Was this bigoted? Place yourself in their circumstances, with their convictions of the importance of truth, simplicity, and purity, in the worship of God; and say what you could do, more rational or more manly.

Where then, I ask again, was the bigotry, the fanaticism, the narrowness of mind, which you have seemed to see as you have read the record of the famous meeting in Mr. Newman's barn, at which wisdom builded her house, and hewed out her seven pillars? You say, perhaps, that the constitution itself which was then adopted, is the proof that they were fanatics. Who but bigots and fanatics, you ask, would think of constructing a government upon such principles?

The constitution, if we may so call it, adopted at that meeting, contained these two principles only,—first, that in the choice of magistrates, the making and repealing of laws, the dividing of inheritances, and the deciding of differences, all should be governed by the rules held forth in Scripture; and, secondly, that a man's Christian character, certified by the Church in the fact of his being a church-member, should be essential, not to his enjoying civil rights and privileges, but to his exercising civil power.

If you believe the Bible to be a perfect rule of moral action, you are precluded from taking any exception against the first of these principles, as it stands upon the record. If you do not believe in the Bible as a rule of moral action, I confess I am not careful at present to answer you at all in this matter. The principle as it stands, is simply that Christianity—the ethics of Christianity, should be the constitution of the commonwealth—the supreme law of the land.

But give the principle another construction. Take it as it is commonly understood, and as, a few years afterwards, it was actually applied in practice. In 1644, it was ordered by the General Court of the jurisdiction, "that the judicial laws of God as they were delivered by Moses, and as they are a fence to the moral law, being neither typical nor ceremonial, nor having any reference to Canaan, shall be accounted of moral equity, and generally bind all offenders, and be a rule to all the courts in this jurisdiction in their proceedings against offenders, till they be branched out into particulars hereafter." Take this adoption of the civil laws of the Hebrew commonwealth, about which malicious hearts and shallow brains have so employed their faculties; and what is there in this, that should make us ashamed of our fathers?—what that proves them to be fanatics or bigots?

Remember now that, situated as they were, they must adopt either the laws of England or some other known system. A system entirely new, they could not frame immediately. Should they then adopt the laws of England as the laws of their young republic? Those were the very laws from which they had fled. Those laws would subject them at once to the king, to the parliament, and to the prelates, in their several jurisdictions. The adoption of the laws of England would have been fatal to the object of their emigration. Should they then adopt the Roman civil law, which is the basis of the jurisprudence of most countries in Europe? That system is foreign to the genius of Englishmen, and to the spirit of freedom, and besides, was unknown to the body of the people for whom laws were to be provided.

What other course remained to them, if they wished to separate themselves from the power of the enemies who had driven them into banishment, and to provide for a complete and vital independence, but to adopt at once a system of laws which was in every man's hand, which every man read, and, as he was able, expounded in his family, and with which every subject of the jurisdiction could easily be made familiarly acquainted.

And what was there of absurdity in this code, considered as a code for just such a settlement as this was? Where are we, that we need to raise such a question? Is it in a Christian country, that the question must be argued, whether the Mosaic law, excluding whatever is typical, or ceremonial, or local, is absurd, as the basis or beginning of a system of jurisprudence? Suppose the planters of Quinnipiack had taken as their rule, in the administration of justice, the laws of Solon, or Lycurgus, or the laws of the twelve tables: suppose the agreement had been, that the laws of King Alfred should be followed in the punishment of offenders, in the settlement of controversies between individuals, and in the division of estates:—where had been the absurdity? Who will tell us, that the laws of Moses are less wise or equitable than the laws of any other of the legislators of antiquity?

The laws of Moses were given to a community emigrating from their native country, into a land which they were to acquire and occupy, for the great purpose of maintaining in simplicity and purity the worship of the one true God. The founders of this colony came hither for the self-same purpose. Their emigration from their native country was a religious emigration. Every other interest of their community was held subordinate to the purity of their religious faith and practice. So far then as this point of comparison is concerned, the laws which were given to Israel in the wilderness may have been suited to the wants of a religious colony planting itself in America.

The laws of Moses were given to a people who were to live not only surrounded by heathen tribes on every frontier

save the seaboard, but also with heathen inhabitants, worshipers of the devil, intermixed among them, not fellow-citizens, but men of another and barbarous race; and the laws were therefore framed with a special reference to the corrupting influence of such neighborhood and intercourse. Similar to this was the condition of our fathers. The Canaanite was in the land, with his barbarian vices, with his heathenish and hideous superstitions; and their servants and children were to be guarded against the contamination of intercourse with beings so degraded.

The laws of the Hebrews were designed for a free people. Under those laws, so unlike all the institutions of oriental despotism, there was no absolute power, and, with the exception of the hereditary priesthood, whose privileges as a class were well balanced by their labors and disabilities, no privileged classes. The aim of those laws was "equal and exact justice;" and equal and exact justice is the only freedom. Equal and exact justice in the laws, and in the administration of the laws, infuses freedom into the being of a people, secures the widest and most useful distribution of the means of enjoyment, and affords scope for the activity, and healthful stimulus to the affections, of every individual. The people whose habits and sentiments are formed under such an administration of justice, will be a free people.

But it is worth our while to notice two of the most important effects of their renouncing the laws of England, and adopting the Mosaic law. In the first place, the principle on which inheritances were to be divided, was materially changed. The English law, except where some local usage prevails to the contrary, gives all real estate to the eldest son. This is the pillar of the English aristocracy. Let this one principle be taken away; let estates, instead of passing undivided to a single heir, be divided among many heirs, and that vast accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few great families is at an end. But the Jewish law divides inheritances among all the children, giving to the eldest son, as the head of the family, only a double portion. This promotes

equality among the people, breaking up the rich man's great estate into as many portions as he has children, and thus insuring the constant division and general distribution of property. How different is the aspect of this country now, from what it would have been, if the feudal law of inheritance had been from the beginning the law of the land! How incalculable has been the effect on the character of the people!

Notice in the next place, how great a change, in respect to the inflicting of capital punishments, was made by adopting the Hebrew laws, instead of the laws of England. By the laws of England, more than one hundred and fifty crimes were, till quite lately, punishable with death. By the laws which the New England colonists adopted, this bloody catalogue was reduced to eleven.* On such a difference as this, it would be idle to expatiate. In determining what kind of men our fathers were, we are to compare their laws, not with ours, but with the laws which they renounced. The greatest and boldest improvement which has been made in criminal jurisprudence, by any one act, since the dark ages, was that which was made by our fathers, when they determined, "that the judicial laws of God, as they were delivered by Moses, and as they are a fence to the moral law, being neither typical, nor ceremonial, nor having any reference to Canaan, shall be accounted of moral equity, and generally bind all offenders, and be a rule to all the courts." Whatever improvements in this respect we have made since their day, may be resolved into this:—We have learned to distinguish, better than they, between that in the laws of Moses which was of absolute obligation, being founded on permanent and universal reasons only, and that which was ordained in reference to the peculiar circumstances of the Hebrew nation, and which was therefore temporary or local.

So much for the first principle in the constitution adopted by the fathers of New Haven, namely, the principle that the

* Murder, Treason, Perjury against the life of another, Kidnapping, Bestiality, Sodomy, Adultery, Blasphemy in the highest degree, Idolatry, Witchcraft, Rebellion against parents.

Bible should be their rule of justice. As to the other principle, namely, that political power should be committed only to those men whose moral character, and whose sympathy with the great design of the plantation, should be certified by their being members of the Church,—I know not that I need to explain, any further, its equity or wisdom as a political measure. If we are to regard it as a measure for the encouragement or promotion of piety, undoubtedly it must be pronounced a great mistake. Piety is not to be promoted by making it the condition of any civil or political distinctions. This they knew as well as we; and when they introduced the principle in question into their "fundamental agreement," it was not for the sake of bestowing honors or privileges upon piety, but for the sake of guarding their liberty, and securing the end for which they had made themselves exiles. If you call their adoption of this principle fanaticism, it is to be remembered that the same fanaticism runs through the history of England. How long has any man in England been permitted to hold any office under the crown, without being a communicant in the Church of England? The same fanaticism had, up to that fourth of June, 1639, characterized all nations, protestant or popish, Mohammedan or heathen; nay, as Davenport said, "these very Indians, that worship the Devil," acted on the same principle, so that in his judgment "it seemed to be a principle imprinted in the minds and hearts of all men in the equity of it."* Call it fanaticism if you will. To that fanaticism which threw off the laws of England, and made these colonies Puritan commonwealths, we are indebted for our existence as a distinct and independent nation.

But after all, we may be told, they were Puritans. Well, what and who were the Puritans? Need any man be ashamed of being descended from such ancestors?

There are those whose ideas of the Puritans are derived only from such authorities as Butler's Hudibras, Scott's ro-

* Discourse about Civil Government, 24.

mances, and similar fictions. There are those, still more unfortunate, who form their opinion of the character of the Puritans from what they read in such works as that most unscrupulous and malicious of lying narratives, Peters' History of Connecticut. With persons whose historical knowledge is of this description, it would be a waste of time to argue. But those who know any thing of the history of England, may easily disabuse themselves of vulgar prejudices against the Puritans.

What were the Puritans? The prejudices which have been infused into so many minds from the light, popular literature of England since the restoration, are ready to answer. The Puritans!—every body knows what they were;—an enthusiastic religious sect, distinguished by peculiarities of dress and language, enemies of learning, haters of refinement and all social enjoyments, low-bred fanatics, crop-eared rebels, a rabble of round-heads, whose preachers were cobblers and tinkers, ever turning their optics in upon their own inward light, and waging fierce war upon mince pies and plum puddings. It was easy for the courtiers of King Charles II, when the men of what they called "the Grand Rebellion," had gone from the scene of action, thus to make themselves merry with misrepresentations of the Puritans, and to laugh at the wit of Butler and of South; but their fathers laughed not, when, in many a field of conflict, the chivalry of England skipped like lambs, and proud banners rich with Norman heraldry, and emblazoned with bearings that had been stars of victory at Cressy and at Poictiers, were trailed in dust before the round-head regiments of Cromwell.

What were the Puritans? Let sober history answer. They were a great religious and political party, in a country and in an age in which every man's religion was a matter of political regulation. They were in their day the reforming party in the church and state of England. They were a party including, like all other great parties, religious or political, a great variety of character, and men of all conditions in society. There were noblemen among them, and there were

peasants; but the bulk of the party was in the middling classes, the classes which the progress of commerce and civilization, and free thought, had created between the degraded peasantry and the corrupt aristocracy. The strong holds of the party were in the great commercial towns, and especially among the merchants and tradesmen of the metropolis. There were doubtless some hypocrites among them, and some men of unsettled opinions, and some of loose morals, and some actuated by no higher sentiment than party spirit; but the party as a whole was characterized by a devoted love of country, by strict and stern morality, by hearty, fervent piety, and by the strongest attachment to sound, evangelical doctrines. There were ignorant men among them, and weak men; but comparing the two parties as masses, theirs was was the intelligent and thinking party. There were among them some men of low ambition, some of a restless, envious, leveling temper, some of narrow views; but the party as a whole, was the patriotic party, it stood for popular rights, for the liberties of England, for law against prerogative, for the doctrine that kings and magistrates were made for the people, and not the people for kings—ministers for the Church, and not the Church for ministers.

Who were the Puritans? Enemies of learning did you say? You have heard of Lightfoot, second in scholarship to no other man, whose researches into all sorts of lore are even at this day the great store-house from which the most learned and renowned commentators, not of England and America only, but of Germany, derive no insignificant portion of their learning. Lightfoot was a Puritan.* You may have heard of Theophilus Gale, whose works have never yet been surpassed for minute and laborious investigation into the sources of all the wisdom of the Gentiles. Gale was a Puritan. You may have heard of Owen, the fame of whose learning, not less than of his genius and his skill, filled all Europe, and constrained the most determined enemies of

* Lightfoot was a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. After the restoration, he conformed to the Established Church.

him, and of his party, to pay him the profoundest deference. Owen was, among divines, the very head and captain of the Puritans. You may have heard of Selden, the jurist, the universal scholar, whose learning was in his day, and is even at this day, the "glory of the English nation." Selden was a Puritan.* Strange that such men should have been identified with the enemies of learning.

The Puritans triumphed for a while. They beat down not only the prelacy, but the peerage, and the throne. And what did they do with the universities? The universities were indeed revolutionized by commissioners from the Puritan Parliament; and all who were enemies to the Commonwealth of England, as then established, were turned out of the seats of instruction and government. But were the revenues of the universities confiscated?—their halls given up to pillage?—their libraries scattered and destroyed? Never were the universities of England better regulated, never did they better answer the legitimate ends of such institutions, than when they were under the control of the Puritans.

Who were the Puritans? Enemies, did you say, of literature and refinement? What is the most resplendent name in the literature of England? Name that most illustrious of poets, who for magnificence of imagination, for grandeur of thought, for purity, beauty, and tenderness of sentiment, for harmony of numbers, for power and felicity of language, stands without a rival. Milton was a Puritan.

Who were the low-bred fanatics, the crop-eared rebels, the rabble of round-heads? Name that purest patriot whose name stands brightest and most honored in the history of English liberty, and whose example is ever the star of guidance and of hope, to all who resist usurped authority. Hampden was a Puritan,—associate with Pym in the eloquence that swayed the Parliament and "fulmin'd" over England, comrade in arms with Cromwell, and shedding his blood upon the battle-field.

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* Selden was one of the lay members of the Westminster Assembly.

But their preachers were cobblers and tinkers! Were they indeed? Well, and what were Christ's apostles? One tinker I remember, among the preachers of that age, and of that great party—though not, in the most proper meaning of the word, a Puritan; and what name is more worthy of a place among the names of the elected fishermen of Galilee, than the name of Bunyan? That tinker, shut up in Bedford jail for the crime of preaching, saw there with the eye of faith and genius, visions only less divine than those which were revealed to his namesake in Patmos. His "Pilgrim's Progress" lives in all the languages of Christendom, among the most immortal of the works of human genius. Would that all preachers were gifted like that tinker Bunyan!

But the Puritan preachers cannot be characterized as illiterate, or as men who had been trained to mechanical employments. They were men from the universities, skilled in the learning of the age, and well equipped for the work of preaching. Never has England seen a more illustrious company of preachers than when Baxter, Owen, Bates, Charnock, Howe, and two thousand others of inferior attainments indeed, but of kindred spirit, labored in the pulpits of the establishment. Never has any ministry in the Church of England done more, in the same time, and under similar disadvantages, for the advancement of the people in the knowledge of Christian truth, and in the practice of Christian piety, than was done by the ministry of the Puritans. Whence came the best and most famous of those books of devotion, and of experimental and practical piety, which have so enriched our language, and by which the authors preach to all generations. The "Saint's Rest," the "Call to the Unconverted," the "Blessedness of the Righteous," the "Living Temple," these, and other works like these, which have been the means of leading thousands to God the eternal fountain,—are the works of Puritan preachers.

Let me not be considered as maintaining that the Puritans were faultless or infallible. I know they had faults, great faults. I know they fell into serious errors. By their errors

and faults, the great cause which their virtue so earnestly espoused, and their valor so strongly defended, was wrecked and almost ruined. But dearly did they pay, in disappointment, in persecution, in many sufferings, in the contempt which was heaped upon them by the infatuated people they had vainly struggled to emancipate,—the penalty of their faults and errors. And richly have their posterity, inhabiting both hemispheres, enjoyed, in well ordered liberty, in the diffusion of knowledge, and in the saving influences of pure Christianity,—the purchase of their sufferings, the reward of their virtues and their valor.

# DISCOURSE III.

## ECCLESIASTICAL FORMS AND USAGES OF THE FIRST AGE IN NEW ENGLAND.

JOSHUA XXIV, 31.—And Israel served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that overlived Joshua, and who had known all the works of the Lord, that he had done for Israel.

IN the present discourse, as preliminary to some sketches of remarkable individuals among the members of this Church in that generation which came out of England, I shall notice several particulars not yet touched upon, respecting the history of the Church as a community at that period.

With what solemnities the formal constituting of the Church, by the seven men appointed for that purpose, was attended, is not upon those records which have come down to us. We know, however, what were the forms generally observed on similar occasions, at the same period; and, presuming that the same forms were observed here, we may easily imagine something of the transactions of that day.* At an early hour, probably not far from 8 o'clock in the morning, the congregation assembled. Tradition says, that the assembly was under the same broad oak, under which they had kept their first Sabbath. After public exercises of preaching and prayer, "about the space of four or five hours," those who are first to unite in the church covenant, the seven pillars in the house of wisdom, stand forth before the congregation, and the elders and delegates from neighboring Churches,—for, probably, such were present from the Churches on the river. In the first place, that all present may be satisfied respecting the personal piety of the men who are to begin the Church, all the seven successively make a declaration of their religious experience,—what has been the history of their minds, and

* Johnson, Wonder-working Prov. II, Mass. Hist. Coll. vii, 40.

what have been the influences and effects of God's grace upon them. Next, that they may make it clear, that their confidence in Christ rests upon Christ as revealed in the Word, they, either severally or jointly, make profession of their faith, declaring those great and leading doctrines which they receive as the substance of the gospel. If on any point farther explanations are desired, questions are proposed by the representatives of neighboring Churches, till all are satisfied. Then they unitedly express their assent to a written form of covenant, in nearly the same words in which the covenant of this Church is now expressed;—after which they receive from the representatives of the neighboring Churches, the right hand of fellowship, recognizing them as a Church of Christ, invested with all the powers and privileges which Christ has given to his Churches.

The election and ordination of officers, followed very soon after the organization of the Church. Mr. Davenport who was, perhaps even more than any other man, the leader of the enterprise, was chosen pastor. The office of teacher, and that of ruling elder, appear to have been left vacant for a season. Mr. Samuel Eaton, who is sometimes spoken of as having been colleague with Mr. Davenport,* appears not to have sustained that relation after the Church was duly gathered. The first deacons were Robert Newman and Matthew Gilbert, who were both in the original foundation of the Church. Mr. Davenport, like nearly all the other ministers who emigrated to this country in that age, had been regularly ordained to the ministry in the Church of England, by the laying on of the hands of a bishop. Yet that ordination was not considered as giving him office or power in this Church, any more than a man's having been a magistrate in England, would give him power to administer justice in this jurisdiction. Accordingly he was ordained, or solemnly inducted into office, Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone, elders of the Church in Hartford, being present, as tradition says, to assist in the

* Trumbull, I, 286.

solemnity.* The act of ordination, however, in such cases, was performed by two or more brethren in the name of the Church, laying their hands upon the head of the pastor elect, with some such form of words as this, "We ordain thee to be pastor unto this Church of Christ;" after which one of the elders present from other Churches, proceeded in prayer to God for his special assistance to his servant in the work, and for his blessing upon the Church, the pastor, and the congregation.† The pastor having been thus inducted into office, ordained the deacons.

The question doubtless arises with some—Could such an ordination have any validity, or confer on the pastor thus ordained any authority? Can men, by a voluntary compact, form themselves into a Church? and can the Church thus formed impart to its own officers the power of administering ordinances? If Davenport had not been previously ordained in England, would not his administration of ordinances have been sacrilege? Answer me another question: How could the meeting which convened in Mr. Newman's barn, originate a commonwealth? How could the commonwealth thus originated, impart the divine authority and dignity of magistrates to officers of its own election? How could a few men coming together here in the wilderness, without commission from king or parliament, by a mere voluntary compact among themselves, give being to a state? How can the state thus instituted, have power to make laws which shall bind the minority? What right had they to erect tribunals of justice? What right to wield the sword? What right to inflict punishment, even to death, upon offenders? Is not civil government a divine institution, as really as baptism and the Lord's supper? Is not the "duly constituted" magistrate as truly the minister of God, as he who presides over the Church and labors in word and doctrine? Whence then came the authority with which that self constituted state, meeting in Mr. Newman's barn, invested its elected magistrates? It came

* Trumbull, I, 285. † See Appendix No. II.

directly from God, the only fountain of authority. Just as directly from the same God, came the authority with which the equally self constituted Church, meeting in the same place, invested its elected pastor. Could the one give to its magistrates power to hang a murderer in the name of God,—and could not the other give to its elders power to administer baptism?*

In the year 1644, the Rev. William Hooke, who had been a minister of the Church of England, and who upon the first settlement of Taunton in the Plymouth colony, became pastor of the Church there, was ordained teacher in this Church; and at the same time, probably, Mr. Robert Newman, one of the first deacons, was ordained ruling elder. The ordination in this case was of course performed by Mr. Davenport, Mr. Hooke preaching, on the occasion, his own inauguration sermon. Thus the Church became completely supplied with the officers which every Church in that day was supposed to need. It had within itself a complete presbytery—a full body of ordained elders, competent to maintain a regular succession, without any dependence on the supposed ordaining power of ministers out of the Church, and without any necessity of resorting to the extraordinary measure of ordination by persons specially delegated for that purpose.

The three elders, one of whom was to give attention chiefly to the administration of the order and government of the Church, while the others were to labor in word and doctrine, were all equally and in the same sense "elders," or "overseers" of the flock of God. The one was a mere

* Those who admire "the judicious Hooker," ought not to be startled at this doctrine. Richard Hooker argues thus: "Another extraordinary kind of vocation is where the exigence of necessity doth constrain to leave the usual ways of the Church, which otherwise we would willingly keep. Where the Church must needs have some ordained, and neither hath nor can possibly have a bishop to ordain; in case of such necessity, the ordinary institution of God hath given oftentimes, and may give place. And therefore we are not, simply without exception, to urge a lineal descent of power from the apostles, by continued succession of bishops in every effectual ordination."—Eccl. Pol., B. vii, ch. 14.

elder; but the others were elders called to the work of preaching. The distinction between pastor and teacher was theoretical, rather than of any practical importance. Both were, in the highest sense, ministers of the gospel; as colleagues, they preached by turns on the Lord's day, and on all other public occasions; they had an equal share in the administration of discipline; and if Mr. Davenport was more venerated than Mr. Hooke, and had more influence in the Church and in the community generally, it was more because of the acknowledged personal superiority of the former in respect to age and gifts and learning, than because of any official disparity. The Cambridge Platform, which was framed in 1648, and with which Mr. Davenport, in his writings on church government, fully agrees, says, in defining the difference between pastors and teachers, "The pastor's special work is to attend to exhortation, and therein to administer a word of wisdom; the teacher is to attend to doctrine, and therein to administer a word of knowledge; and either of them to administer the seals of that covenant unto the dispensation whereof they are alike called; and also to execute the censures, being but a kind of application of the word: the preaching of which, together with the application thereof, they are alike charged withall."* The pastor and teacher gave themselves wholly to their ministry and their studies, and accordingly received a support from the people; they might properly be called clergymen.† The ruling elder was not necessarily educated for the ministry; he *might*, without impropriety, pursue some secular calling; and though he fed the flock occasionally with "a word of admonition," the ministry was not his profession. Inasmuch as he did not live by the ministry, he was a layman.

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* Chap. vi, Sect. 5.

† In England, a *clergyman* is a minister of the Established Church. In this country, if the word has any proper meaning, it means, not every one who preaches, or every one who is licensed or ordained, but a minister who makes the ministry his profession. A merchant or mechanic may preach, and may be ordained; but if he pursues his secular calling, he is not a clergyman.

The ministers were supported, not from the treasury of the town—for the town as a civil corporation had nothing to do with them—but from the church treasury kept by the deacons, and this church treasury was supplied by voluntary contributions.* This appears to have been the method till some time after the union of the New Haven colony with Connecticut. Instead of the assessment and collection of a tax, as for the expenses of the civil government, each member of the congregation was called upon to manifest his liberality, his sense of justice, his affection for the elders, and his regard for the ordinances, by contributing, of his own will, as God had prospered him. The first approach towards a tax for the support of the ministry, was made, when it was enacted, that if any man refused to contribute, or contributed what was manifestly below his just proportion, he might be compelled to do his duty in this matter.†

In regard to the views of Christian doctrine entertained by the founders of this Church, my design, at present, will not permit me to go into particulars. It is sufficient to say, in general, that their doctrines were those of the Reformation, the doctrines of Calvin and of the articles and homilies of the Church of England, the doctrines of such bishops as Latimer and Ridley, and of such archbishops as Cranmer and Abbott, the same doctrines which were held by their cotemporaries and brethren, the divines of the Westminster Assembly. While they regarded with great dislike the scheme of doctrine which, by the influence of Laud, had then lately become characteristic of the adherents of prelacy, and from the unhappy influence of which the Church of England is now at last partly delivered; they had no sympathy with the mysticism and antinomianism which, in that age of excitement, broke out in so many forms in various quarters.

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* With some this was considered a matter of divine appointment. Cong. Way Justified, 9.

† This was the provision of Gov. Eaton's code.

Their mode of conducting public worship was not materially unlike our method at this day.* Every sabbath they came together at the beat of drum, about nine o'clock, or before. The pastor began with solemn prayer, continuing about a quarter of an hour. The teacher then read and expounded a chapter. Then a psalm was sung, the lines being given out by the ruling elder. After that, the pastor delivered his sermon, not written out in full, but from notes enlarged upon in speaking. In this Church, at an early period, it was customary for the congregation to rise while the preacher read his text. This was a token of reverence for the word of God.† After the sermon, the teacher concluded with prayer and a blessing.

Once a month, as now, the Lord's supper was celebrated at the close of the morning service, in precisely the same forms which we observe,—the pastor, teacher and ruling elder sitting together at the communion table. One of the ministers performed the first part of the service, and the other the last, the order in which they officiated being reversed at each communion.

The assembly convened again for the exercises of the afternoon at about two o'clock; and the pastor having commenced as in the morning with prayer, and a psalm having been sung as before, another prayer was offered by the teacher, who then preached, as the pastor did in the morning, and prayed again.

Then, if there was any occasion, baptism was administered, by either pastor or teacher, the officiating minister commonly accompanying the ordinance with exhortation addressed to the Church and to the parents.

Next in the order of services, was the contribution, made every Lord's day to the treasury of the Church. One of the deacons, rising in his place, said, "Brethren of the congregation, now there is time left for contribution, wherefore as God

* Most of the particulars that follow are derived from Lechford's Plaine Dealing.

† Hutch. I, 430.

hath prospered you, so freely offer." The ministers, whenever there was any extraordinary occasion, were wont to accompany the call with some earnest exhortation out of the Scriptures urging to liberality. The contribution was received, not by passing a box from seat to seat, but first the magistrates and principal gentlemen, then the elders, and then the congregation generally, came up to the deacon's seat by one way and returned orderly to their own seats by another way.* Each individual contributed either money, or a written promise to pay some certain amount, or any thing else that was convenient and proper. Money and subscriptions were placed in the contribution box,—other offerings were laid down before the deacons. It may be that some of the ancient silver cups now used in our monthly communion, were given in this way.

After the contribution, the assembly being not yet dismissed, if there were any members to be admitted into the Church, or any to be propounded for admission, or if there were cases of offense and discipline to be acted upon by the Church, such things were attended to; and then another psalm was sung, if the day was not too far spent, and the pastor closed the services with prayer and the blessing.

In the Church, a meeting was held weekly on Tuesday, where the members of the Church by themselves conferred together on religious subjects, and the ministers, as they had occasion, communicated appropriate instruction and exhortation.† There were also stated "private meetings" in the different districts of the town, at which the brethren exercised their gifts for mutual instruction and edification.‡ Besides which, there was a stated public lecture on Wednesday, whether monthly before the communion, or more frequently, I am not able to determine.

The discipline of offenders against the laws of Christ, was strict, and conducted with no respect of persons.§ Every

* Many allusions in the Records of the Church and of the town, confirm Lechford's testimony on this point.

† Church Records.

‡ Town Records, 7th Aug. 1655.

§ See Appendix III.

case that was brought before the Church at all, was made ready for the action of the Church by the elders, and chiefly by the ruling elder. At the proper time, the offender was called forth by the ruling elder. A statement was made showing the previous proceedings in the case, after which the ruling elder read the particulars charged, showing under each particular, what rule of the word of God was broken. Every specification was proved by the testimony of at least two witnesses. After the reading of the charges with the testimony, the ruling elder called on the offender to object, if he would, to the facts that were charged upon him. The offender having spoken, or declined speaking, it was put to the brethren, to declare by their vote, whether the facts were sufficiently proved by the witnesses. This point having been decided, it was next put to the brethren, to declare by their vote, whether the several rules the violation of which was charged upon the offender, were rightly applied to the several facts. This having been voted, it was proposed to the brethen to consider whether, in view of the facts proved, and of the rules broken, the offender should presently be cast out, or whether the case would admit of an admonition only at the present time. If on this question there seemed any want of clearness or unanimity, one or both of the ministers spoke to "hold forth light" and to clear away perplexities. If it was decided that admonition was sufficient for the present, the sentence of admonition was forthwith pronounced by the pastor, if the offense was one that related to morals, or by the teacher if it was an offense in respect to doctrine. After a public admonition, the Church of course waited for a proper time, "expecting the fruit of it" in the repentance and reformation of the offender. Meanwhile the elders labored with him as they had opportunity, to further his repentance. But if after a proper time there appeared in the offender no satisfactory evidence of inward reformation, the case was taken up again, and in the presence perhaps of delegates from other Churches, the sentence of excommunication was solemnly pronounced. It is reported by one wrier of that

age, as a strange peculiarity, "that at New Haven, alias Quinapeag, where Master Davenport is Pastor," an excommunicated person was not allowed to enter into the worshiping assembly at all, till by the consent of the Church, and by a formal absolution, the censure was taken off.* I should have presumed this to be a mistake, had I not found in our early church records some incidental expressions which seem to confirm it.

The first house for public worship erected in New Haven, was commenced in 1639. The order that such a house should be built forthwith, was passed in the town meeting, on the 25th of November. The cost of the building was to be £500; and to raise that sum, a tax of 1½ per cent. was levied, all to be paid before the following May. The house was fifty feet square. It had a tower, surmounted with a turret. It is said to have stood near the spot where the flagstaff now stands; but it seems more than probable that it stood farther west, perhaps half way between that spot and the spot where this house stands.

The internal arrangements of the house, so far as a knowledge of them can be gathered from the records, or inferred from what we know of the primitive meeting-houses, are easily described. Immediately before the pulpit, and facing the congregation, was an elevated seat for the ruling elder; and before that, somewhat lower, was a seat for the deacons, behind the communion table. On the floor of the house there were neither pews nor slips, but plain seats. On each side of what we may call the center aisle, were nine, of sufficient length to accommodate five or six persons. On each side of the pulpit at the end, were five cross seats, and another shorter than the five. Along each wall of the house, between the cross seats and the side door, were four seats,

* Lechford, 13. Lechford was probably lawyer enough to know that the same rule obtained in the Church of England, and that the excommunicate, besides being excluded from the place of worship, was liable to a penalty every Sunday for his constrained absence. Good old Oliver Heywood found that this was no dead letter. Heywood, Works, I, 100.

and beyond the side door, six. The men and women were seated separately on opposite sides of the house; and every one, according to his office or his age or his rank in society, had his place assigned by a committee appointed for that purpose.* The children and young people, at the first seating, seem to have been left to find their own places, away from their parents, in that part of the house which was not occupied with seats prepared at the town's expense. If this was the case, it cannot be wondered at, that within five or six years after the first seating, and so on as long as the practice continued, the regulation of the boys in the meeting house, and the ways and means of suppressing disorders among them, were frequent subjects of discussion and enactment in the town meetings. A congregation ought always to present itself in the house of God by families. The separating of the heads of the family from each other, and the children from both, in the house of God, was a serious and mischievous mistake.

That humble edifice,—humble in comparison with the spacious and beautiful structures that now adorn the same green spot,—was built and maintained in repair with an honorable zeal for public worship. It was one of the many calamities of the colonists here, that the meeting house, through the unfaithfulness or incompetency of some of the workmen, very soon began to require expensive repairs. The main posts of the building not being properly secured, it became necessary in a few years to keep them in their places by shores and props,—a circumstance which helped Mr. Davenport to an illustration, when in one of his sermons, showing that as Laban fared the better for Jacob; Potiphar, Pharaoh, and all Egypt for Joseph; the inhabitants of Sodom for Lot; and the mariners and all that were in the ship for Paul; so the world fares the better for the saints—he added, "The holy seed are (מצבת) the props that shore up the places where they live, that the wrath of God does not overwhelm them."†

* See Appendix No. IV. † Saints' Anchor-hold, 24.

In such a temple, the fathers of New Haven maintained the worship and ordinances of God for about thirty years. During all that time they never met for worship, even in the most tranquil times, without a complete military guard. As early as 1640, we find upon the records an order, that "every man that is appointed to watch, whether masters or servants, shall come every Lord's day to the meeting completely armed; and all others, also, are to bring their swords, no man exempted save Mr. Eaton, our Pastor, Mr. James, Mr. Samuel Eaton, and the two deacons." And from time to time, the number of men that were to bear arms on the Sabbath days, and other days of public assembly, the time at which they should appear at the meeting house, and the places which they should occupy, were made the subjects of particular regulation. Seats were placed, on each side of the front door, for the soldiers. A sentinel was stationed in the turret. Armed watchmen paced the streets, while the people were assembled for worship. And whenever rumors came of conspiracies among the Indians at a distance, or there seemed to be any special occasion of alarm, the Sabbath guards and sentries at once became more vigilant, and the house of God bristled with augmented preparations for defense. For example, in March, 1653, there being apprehensions of an Indian invasion, and a town meeting being held, that nothing needful in such circumstances might be neglected, we find it ordered, among other particulars, that "the door of the meeting house next the soldiers' seat be kept clear from women and children sitting there, that if there be occasion for the soldiers to go suddenly forth, they may have a free passage." Of the six pieces of artillery belonging to the town, three were stationed always by the water side, and three by the meeting house. Twice before each assembly, the drum was beaten in the turret and along the principal streets, and when the congregation came together, it presented the appearance of an assembly in a garrison.

Yet how strictly were their Sabbaths sanctified. "From evening to evening," no unnecessary labor was any where

permitted. Let us go back, for a moment, to one of those ancient Sabbaths. You see in the morning no motion, save as the herds go forth to their pasture in the common grounds, each herd accompanied by two or three armed herdsmen. At the appointed hour, the drum having been beaten both the first time and the second, the whole population, from the dwellings of the town, and from the farms on the other side of the river, come together in the place of prayer. The sentinel is placed in the turret; those who are to keep ward, go forth, pacing, two by two, the still green lanes. In the mean time, we take our places in the assembly. In this rude unfinished structure, is devotion true and pure,—worship, more solemn for the lack of outward pomp. The learned and fervent Davenport, and the rhetorical and polished Hooke, divide between them the duties of the pulpit. Before them are such hearers as the honored Eaton, Goodyear, and Gregson; the warriors Turner and Seely; the Newmans, discreet and beloved; the modest and true hearted Gibbard; and, that terror to inattentive school boys, Master Ezekiel Cheever.* Sometimes, too, we might see in the audience, that father of his country, venerable alike as a philosopher, a statesman, a patriot and a saint,—the younger Winthrop.† Through a long course of exercises, which would weary out the men of our degenerate days, these hearers sit or stand with most exemplary attention. They love the word that comes from the lips of their pastor. They love the order of this house. For the privilege of uniting in these forms of worship, of hearing the gospel thus preached, of living under this religious constitution, and of thus extending in the world the kingdom which is righteousness and peace and joy, they undertook the work of planting this wilderness. To them each sermon, every prayer, every tranquil Sabbath is the more precious for all that it has cost them. It is not strange, then, that their

* Some account of several of the worthies named above, will be found in the Appendix No. V.

† The reader will also find some notices of Governor Winthrop in the Appendix No. VI.

attention is awake through these long services, till, as the day declines, they retire to their dwellings, and close the Sabbath with family worship and the catechising of their children. I seem to hear the utterance of their piety in that old stave of Sternhold and Hopkins:

"Go walke about all Syon hill, yea round about her go;
And tell the towres that thereupon are builded on a roe:
And marke you well her bulwarkes all, behold her towres there;
That ye may tell thereof to them that after shall be here.
For this God is our God, forevermore is hee;
Yea and unto the death also, our guider shall he be."

Thus the years went on, each year bringing its changes, its hopes, its disappointments and sorrows; till those who came hither in the prime of life, had grown gray and feeble, or were seen no more. Meanwhile one spot behind the meeting house, marked with a few rude monumental stones, was becoming continually more and more sacred to the affections of the people. One and another, with whom they had often walked to the house of God,—one and another whose faith had dared the sea, and whose constancy had triumphed over the temptations of the wilderness, had there been gathered to the congregation of the dead. There slept the pious Edward Tench and his wife, who dying within a few months after their arrival here, had committed their only child to God and to the Church, "by faith, giving commandment" concerning the child, that it should not "go back to the country from which they had come forth."* There one of the first graves was made for the widow of that Francis Higginson who was the first minister of Salem, and who dying just after his settlement there, had left her with eight young children to the protection of a covenant God.† There, after the lapse of some twenty years from the beginning, when many of the loved and honored among them had rested from their labors, the dust of Allerton,‡ one of the most distinguished of the

* See Appendix No. VII. † Kingsley, Hist. Disc. 55, 102.

‡ Isaac Allerton was the fifth of the signers of the celebrated civil compact of Nov. 11, 1620. He was a principal man in the Plymouth Colony, and was

Pilgrims of the May Flower, was laid among the fathers of New Haven. And every new mound that was erected there, fastened some survivor to the soil, by a new tie of sacred affection. Who, when he thinks of dying, would not rather die where he may be buried among the graves of his kindred. When the emigrant turns his face towards some new country, it is painful to leave the familiar walks, the haunts of childhood, the old homestead, but more painful still to leave the sanctuary and the burial place. Those little graves, which the mother visits so often, weeping,—that green mound, which covers the dust of a parent or a brother,—that blossoming shrub, which sheds its annual fragrance round a sister's resting place—every thing here is holy to the eye of affection.

Such considerations, doubtless, had an influence in determining the colonists of New Haven, once and again, during the period of their deepest depression, not to abandon the settlement. When the plan of removing to Delaware Bay was seriously agitated; when their friefid Cromwell proposed to them a home in Jamaica; when he offered them a place with many privileges in Ireland; it was not a mere calculation of interest, certainly,—far less was it a mere deficiency of the spirit of enterprise,—that prevented the removal. It was in part the force of affection, a natural sentiment of attachment to the soil that had been hallowed by labor and peril, by hope and disappointment, by happiness and grief, by having been the birth place of their children, and by embosoming the ashes of their friends. He who has no such attachment to the soil on which he lives and has his home, lacks one of the better elements of human nature. This is one ingredient of the complicated sentiment which we call love of country.

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one year deputy governor there. He was a merchant, and deserves a monument as the father of the commerce of New England. Owing to some cause, not now to be explained,—perhaps an attachment to Roger Williams,—he left Plymouth, about the year 1633, and established himself at Marblehead, then a part of Salem. Afterwards he resided at the Manhadoes. In the year 1647, we find him an inhabitant of New Haven; and here he died in 1659.—III, Mass. Hist. Coll. vii, 243.

What New Englander is he who does not love the soil of New England, and take pleasure in the stones and dust thereof? To us these mountains are dear, these rushing streams, these rocks and valleys—dear by all the associations of ancient devotion and valor, or of living affection and enjoyment, that cluster around each spot, adorning the rude forms of nature with invisible beauty.

The graves of the fathers are among us: our sanctuaries, our seats of legislation and of justice, our schools, our very dwellings are their monument. The land itself that spreads its green sod over their dust,—this land of their hardships and perils, now covered with civilization, filled with wealth, and decorated with multiplying works of art, is their mausoleum. Never may their graves be found among a people disowning their spirit, or dishonoring their memory.

# DISCOURSE IV.

## SPECIMENS OF PURITAN MINISTERS IN THE NEW HAVEN COLONY. PRUDDEN, SHERMAN, JAMES, EATON, HOOKE.

HEB. xiii, 7, 8.— * * * Whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation; Jesus Christ the same yesterday, and to-day, and forever.

I PROCEED now to give some notices of the lives and characters of a few among the founders of this religious society; so far as distinct memorials of them can be gathered from various records and historical documents.

Five ministers of the gospel, educated at the English Universities, were in the company which came from Boston to Quinnipiack in 1638;—two of whom, the Rev. Peter Prudden and the Rev. John Sherman, went to Milford; the other three, the Rev. Thomas James, the Rev. Samuel Eaton, and the Rev. John Davenport, remained here.

Though it does not pertain to the design of these discourses to speak particularly of the first two, it will not be improper to bestow a few words upon each of them. Mr. PRUDDEN came from England with Mr. Davenport in 1637, having previously labored with great success in his native country, and being followed by a company of people from Herefordshire, and the adjoining parts of Wales, who expected still to enjoy his ministry. He was ordained pastor of the Church in Milford in 1640,—the ordination being performed at New Haven,—and continued in that office till his death, in 1656. Cotton Mather testifies concerning him, that "besides his other excellent qualities, he was noted for a singular faculty to sweeten, compose, and qualify exasperated spirits, and stop or heal all contentions:—whence it was that his town of Milford enjoyed peace with truth all his days, notwithstanding some dispositions to variance which afterwards broke out." Hubbard gives us the additional information, that "he had

a better faculty than many of his coat to accommodate himself to the difficult circumstances of the country, so as to provide comfortably for his numerous family, yet without indecent distractions from his study." All accounts unite in describing him as distinguished by fervor and power in the pulpit.*

Mr. SHERMAN, though regularly educated at the University of Cambridge, and distinguished for his proficiency, had taken no degree, his conscience refusing a compliance with the conditions of graduation. He came to this country in 1634, and was among the first settlers of Watertown in Massachusetts, where he preached his first sermon. Coming with the company who founded this new colony, he united with the Church in Milford, and at the organization of that Church was chosen teacher. This call he declined; and after a few years residence in the New Haven colony, preaching occasionally—and sometimes serving the public as a member of the General Court for the jurisdiction, he returned to Watertown, and became pastor of the Church there. He was, for his day, a great master of mathematical and astronomical science, which he occasionally employed in making the calculations for a Christian Almanack. As a preacher, he was much admired for "a natural and not affected loftiness of style, which with an easy fluency bespangled his discourses with such glittering figures of oratory, as caused his ablest hearers to call him a second Isaiah,—the honey dropping and golden mouthed preacher." As the chief officer of a Church, he was distinguished by his "wisdom and kindness." He died in 1685, in the seventy second year of his age, having been, in two marriages, the father of twenty six children.† For his second wife he married a young lady of noble extraction,—granddaughter of the earl of Rivers,—who, being a ward of Governor Hopkins, lived here before her marriage in

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* Hubbard, 328. Magnalia, III, 93. Trumbull, I, 294. Farmer, Genealogical Register.

† Six of these children were by the first marriage, twenty by the second.

the family of Governor Eaton. This distinguished man is the more naturally remembered in this connection, inasmuch as within less than a century after his death, a citizen of New Haven, once like him an almanack maker, and probably of the same lineage with him, though not directly descended from him, affixed the name of Sherman to the memorable instrument which forever absolved the United States of America, from their allegiance to the British crown.*

The Rev. Thomas James, before coming to this country, had labored as a minister with approbation and success, in Lincolnshire. He came over in the year 1632, and immediately became pastor of the Church in Charlestown, which Church was at that time first separated from the Church in Boston. Having lived there three years and a half, he resigned his pastoral charge on account of difficulties between himself and a part of his people, originating, as Gov. Winthrop informs us, in his melancholy temper. In the expectation, probably, of finding employment as pastor or teacher in some of the Churches to be formed in the new colony, he came to this place with the first settlers, and resided here as a planter for several years.

In 1642, a gentleman of Virginia came to Boston with letters, addressed to the ministers of New England, from many well disposed people in the upper and newer parts of Virginia, "bewailing their sad condition for want of the means of salvation, and earnestly entreating a supply of faithful ministers, whom, upon experience of their gifts and godliness, they might call to office." These letters having been publicly read at Boston on a lecture day, the elders of the Churches in that neighborhood met, and having devoted a day to consultation and prayer in reference to so serious a proposal, agreed upon three settled ministers who they thought might best be spared, each of them having a teaching colleague. The result was, that two ministers, Mr. Knolles of Watertown and Mr. Tompson of Braintree, were by their Churches dismissed

* Mather, Magn. III, 162. Church Records.

to that work, and went forth upon the mission under the patronage of the General Court.* To this mission,—the first American home missionary undertaking,—the Rev. Thomas James of New Haven was added. The mission was not unsuccessful; "they found very loving and liberal entertainment, and were bestowed in several places, not by the governor, but by some well disposed people who desired their company." Their ministry there was greatly blessed, and greatly sought by the people; and though the government of that colony interfered to prevent their preaching, "because they would not conform to the order of England," "the people resorted to them, in private houses, to hear them as before."† Their preaching, even in this more private manner, was not tolerated. An order was made, that those ministers who would not conform to the ceremonies of the Church of England should, by such a day, depart from the country.‡ Thus their mission being brought to an end, they came back to New England.

Afterwards, during the period of the suppression of monarchy and prelacy in his native country, Mr. James returned to England, leaving here a son of the same name, who was for many years a member of this Church, and was afterwards the first minister of Easthampton, on Long Island. The father obtained a settlement in the parish Church of Needham, in the county of Suffolk, in England, from which he was ejected by the act of uniformity, in 1662. He had a pretty numerous Church after his ejection; and he left behind him, there, the reputation of an eminently holy man. It may be added, as an illustration of the indignities to which the ejected ministers of 1662 were subjected, that "though he was much beloved and esteemed, yet, when he died, the clergyman who came in his place would not allow him to be buried in any other part of the churchyard, but that unconsecrated corner left for rogues, whores, and excommunicates,—though

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* Winthrop, II, 78. † Winthrop, II, 96. ‡ Mather, Magn. III, 216.

the clergyman owed his benefice to the noble uprightness of Mr. James's heart."*

The Rev. Samuel Eaton, whom I have mentioned on a former occasion, resided in this place till the year 1640, when he returned to England with the design of gathering there a company of emigrants who should settle what was afterwards called Branford, that tract having been granted him "for such friends as he should bring over from Old England." Being detained awhile at Boston, his occasional services in that place excited so much interest, that earnest proposals were made to him for a permanent settlement there,—which he rejected. Arriving in England at a time when the Established Church seemed to be about to undergo a general and thorough reformation, and when men of the Puritan party, no longer driven into banishment by persecution, had the strongest hopes of the political and religious renovation of their own country, he found more encouragement to remain there than to come back into this wilderness. He became teacher of a Congregational Church gathered at Duckenfield, in Cheshire, his native county, whence he removed, probably with some part of his congregation, to the neighboring borough of Stockport. In this place, he had difficulty with his people, some of whom, it is said, "ran things to a great height, and grew wiser than their minister." He also was one of the two thousand ministers who, in 1662, were silenced in one day, by the act of uniformity—not merely turned out of their livings, but silenced, because they could not submit to all that was required by the rubrics and canons of the national Church. After his ejection, many of his old hearers

* Calamy.—Prince's Annals, 71, 72. The learned editor of Winthrop, in his note on Thomas James, (I, 94,) is a little too severe upon Mather. That quaint and conceited historian does not "blunder in giving two of the name" of James; nor had he been careful enough to ascertain "the name of baptism of both" would he have "inferred the identity of the person." Mather is the most vexatious of all writers; for it is evident on almost every page, that he suppresses much information pertinent to his subject, for the sake of lugging in his "ass's load" of pedantic lumber; but it is easier to suspect him, than to convict him, of a positive inaccuracy in such matters.

who had disliked him much while he was their minister, being now brought to commune with him in difficulties and sufferings, "were wrought into a better temper." He suffered many things not only from the persecution which raged against the silenced ministers, being "several times brought into trouble and imprisoned," but from many other sources,—till, on the 9th of June, 1665, he died at Denton in Lancashire, and was buried in the chapel there. He is described as having been "a very holy man, of great learning and judgment, and an incomparable preacher." His funeral sermon was preached, according to his own appointment, from the words of Job, (xix, 25–27,) "I know that my Redeemer liveth," &c. The preacher on that occasion dwelt much on the afflictions of the deceased. The departed good man was spoken of as having been "much afflicted in his estate in the times of the former bishops," and as having been more recently "afflicted in his body, liberty, friends, good name, and oft times and many ways troubled and grieved in his spirit." His afflictions had been "many and great, and some of long continuance." He had been wronged in his good name, "not by enemies, but friends." "He had suffered for a season the loss of speech, being thus unfitted for public service." "Some of those to whom he had preached, and with whom he had walked, had greatly distressed his heart with their errors in doctrine, and their scandals and divisions; some had returned him evil for good, and hatred for good will, and had filled him with reproaches." He had "been dying many years," and at last departed in an evil time, leaving his friends and the Church of God in great and general affliction. Yet he died not till God, having humbled him and proved him, had "cleared his innocency, and restored him to some measure of usefulness." "By the goodness of God, he died, notwithstanding all his enemies, in his own house and bed, and came to his grave in peace, according to his heart's desire."*

* The funeral sermon, preached for the Rev. Samuel Eaton, is found in the works of Oliver Heywood, V, 509.

He was the author of several works published in vindication of the divinity and atonement of Christ, against some Socinian adversary. He was also author, in partnership with his colleague in the ministry, at Duckenfield, of two works written to defend the Congregational church order against the claims of Presbyterianism.* It is testified by a bitter enemy,† that he was "held in wonderful esteem" by the Puritans in that part of the kingdom, and that he was "a most pestilent leading person" among them. As an instance of the consideration in which he was held, it is stated that he was, in his own county, an assistant to the commissioners appointed by Parliament for the ejection of scandalous, ignorant and insufficient ministers and schoolmasters; and this it

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* The published works of Samuel Eaton, as enumerated by Wood, are the following:

"*A Defense of Sundry Positions and Scriptures, alledged to justify the Congregational Way.* London, 1645, quarto. It contains about 130 pages.

"*Defense of Sundry Positions and Scriptures, for the Congregational Way justified: The second part.* London, 1646. It contains about 46 pages." [In this and the preceding work, he was assisted by his colleague at Duckenfield, Timothy Taylor. A copy of the second is in the library of Harvard University.]

"*The Mystery of God incarnate: or, the Word made Flesh, cleared up, &c.* London, 1650; octavo. Written against John Knowles, a Socinian, who had answered our author Eaton's *Paper concerning the Godhead of Christ.*

"*Vindication, or further Confirmation of some other Scriptures, produced to prove the Divinity of Jesus Christ, distorted and miserably wrested and abused by Mr. John Knowles, &c.* London, 1651; octavo.

"*The Doctrine of Christ's Satisfaction, and of the Reconciliation of God's part to the Creature.* Printed with the *Vindication.*

"*Discourse Concerning the Springing and Spreading of Error, and of the Means of Cure, and of Preservation against it.* Printed also with the Vindication.

"*Treatise of the Oath of Allegiance and Covenant, showing that they oblige not.*" [The date of this publication is not given; but a reply to it was published in 1650.]

"*The Quakers Confuted, &c.* Animadverted upon by that sometimes noted and leading Quaker, called George Fox, in his book entitled, *The Great Mystery of the Great Whore unfolded: And Anti-Christ's Kingdom revealed unto destruction, &c.* London, 1659."

† Wood, Athenæ Oxon.

was, doubtless, that made him "pestilent," in the estimation of the "scandalous and insufficient."

The Rev. WILLIAM HOOKE, was born of a respectable family in the county of Hampshire. He was sent to Trinity College, in Oxford, in 1616, where he proceeded to the degree of master in arts in 1623, "at which time," says the malignant Wood, "he was esteemed a close student and a religious person." Having received orders in the Church of England, he was made vicar of Axmouth, in Devonshire, where he continued several years. The character of his sermons, it is said, as well as his non-conformity, made him obnoxious to the powers which then were in his native country. Like many others, he was so hotly persecuted that he had no choice but to flee. Accordingly he came to New England, where, adds the historian before named, he "continued his practices without control for some time."

Soon after the settlement of Taunton, in 1637, we find Mr. Hooke the pastor of the Church in that place. In what year he removed from Taunton to New Haven is not ascertained, nor indeed can we fix precisely the date of his ordination as teacher of this Church. Mather however informs us, that "on the day of his ordination, he humbly chose for his text those words in Judges vii, 10: 'Go thou with Phurah thy servant,'—and as humbly raised his doctrine, that in great services a little help is better than none, which he gave as the reason of his own being joined with so considerable a Gideon as Mr. Davenport."*

While he resided here, one of his correspondents in England was his wife's near kinsman, Oliver Cromwell,† and from that circumstance, as well as from the family alliance, it may be inferred, that before he came to this country he was on terms of intimacy with that extraordinary man.

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* Magn. III, 214.

† Hutchinson, III, 234;—where "Hooker" is obviously an error of the transcriber, or of the printer, for "Hooke."—Savage's Winthrop, I, 252.

And when at last his friend Cromwell had mounted to all but absolute power over the whole British empire; when his wife's brother, Edward Whalley, was one of the eight military chiefs, who ruled the eight districts into which the Protector had divided the kingdom of England; when the fear of a Presbyterian hierarchy over the churches of England had been taken away, and Congregational principles seemed likely to triumph,—it is not strange that he felt himself drawn toward his native country. The New Haven colony was at that time greatly depressed, and the prospect of its growth was gloomy. Why should he remain here in the woods, at this outpost of civilization, preaching to a feeble, disheartened company of exiles, in a little meeting-house of fifty feet square,—with only slender advantages for the education of his numerous family, and with little prospect of accomplishing any great result,—when Old England offered to talents like his, and to a man of his principles and connections, so wide a field of action? And besides, how much might he do for New England, and especially for his dear friends and flock in New Haven, if he were at the seat of empire, and at the ear of him who swayed the empire? Accordingly we find that in 1654, "Mr. Hooke's wife was gone for England, and he knew not how God would dispose of her;" and in 1656, we find Mr. Hooke himself removing to England.* We find him, not long after his arrival there, writing to Gov. Winthrop, "As touching myself, I am not yet settled, the Protector having engaged me to him not long after my landing, who hitherto hath well provided for me. His desire is, that a Church may be gathered in his family, to which purpose I have had speech with him several times; but though the thing be most desirable, I foresee great difficulties in sundry respects. I think to proceed as far as I may by any rule of God, and am altogether unwilling that this motion should fall in his heart. But my own weakness is discouragement enough, were there nothing else."† Cromwell's desire to

* Town Records. † III, Mass. Hist. Coll. I, 181.

have a Congregational Church in his own household, at the royal palace of Whitehall, was at least so far carried into effect, that Mr. Hooke became the Protector's domestic chaplain, in which office he was associated with no less a man than John Howe.* He also had conferred upon him the mastership of "the hospital called the Savoy, in the city of Westminster,"—a place which in other times had been, and afterwards became again, the bishop of London's city residence,—a place of some note in ecclesiastical history, as having received that synod of Congregational elders and delegates which framed the "Savoy Confession;" and as having been also, after the restoration, the scene of several of those conferences and debates between some of the dignitaries of the establishment and some leading non-conformists, by which the court imposed upon the Puritans with hypocritical professions of candor, till it grew strong enough to throw off the disguise and show its hatred.

In these circumstances, the late teacher of the Church in New Haven might very reasonably feel that he had found a much more important field of usefulness, than that which he had left behind. Here, indeed, his Sabbath auditory had included the great men of the jurisdiction, the honorable governor, the worshipful deputy governor, the magistrates, the deputies; but there, he preached to His Highness the Lord Protector of the three nations, and to one and another of the men whose counsels and agency Cromwell employed in his most politic and energetic administration. Here, he had preached with a little array of armed men, commanded by the valiant Captain Malbon, guarding the humble sanctuary against the savages; there, he had before him those veteran chiefs whose energy had swept away the king "and all his

* In the order of procession at the funeral of the Protector, the "chaplains at Whitehall, Mr. White, Mr. Sterry, Mr. Hooke, Mr. Howe, Mr. Lockyer, Mr. [Hugh] Peters," had a place assigned them. A few files after them, was the place of the five "Secretaries of the French and Latin tongues, one of whom was "Mr. John Milton."—Burton's Cromwellian Diary, II, 524.

peerage," and whose names were words of terror. Here, he felt that he was but "a little help" to "so considerable a Gideon as Mr. Davenport;" there, he was himself, both by station and by his popular talents, one of the most "considerable" of the ministers in the metropolis of Protestant Christendom. But how imperfectly can we, in our short-sightedness, judge of the comparative importance of different stations and spheres of usefulness. In less than two years after Mr. Hooke's arrival in England, his great friend, the Protector, died; and immediately the pillars of that uncemented fabric of empire tottered. Within two years more, —years of anxious excitement,—Richard Cromwell had resigned the iron scepter which no hand but his father's could wield; and treachery and dissimulation, taking advantage of dissensions among the true-hearted, had restored the monarchy, in the person of the ever infamous King Charles II. Then came that age of England's greatest degeneracy, when her royal palaces rang with the mirth of pimps and courtezans, while the graves of heroes, sages and saints, whose memory she ought to have treasured, were dishonored and violated by authority. Then came again the era of Sabbath sports, and "healths nine fathoms deep," and fox-hunting clergymen, while godliness was counted treason, and the Baxters and Flavels, the Owens and the Howes, were marks of obloquy and vengeance. Then, to be teacher of a humble Church in New England, was a better place for usefulness and happiness, than to be the non-conforming master of the Savoy, ejected and silenced. Then the late chaplain to Oliver, whose name, even after his bones had been dug up, and hanged, and buried again under the gallows, made the cavaliers turn pale with hate and terror,—the brother of the outlawed and hunted regicide, Whalley,—could find in England little peace, and little opportunity of public usefulness. He not only suffered ejection from his place, and silencing, but other forms of persecution, being "sometimes brought into trouble" for worshiping his God according to his own convictions.

Mr. Hooke was the author of several printed works,* only one of which is known to be in existence in this country. It is a sermon, preached at Taunton in 1640, on a day of public humiliation appointed by the Churches in behalf of their native country, over which the clouds were then hanging which soon after broke in the horrors of a civil war. The title of the sermon is "New England's Tears for Old England's Fears;" and the sermon itself is, in matter and style, quite unlike the ordinary preaching of that day. For matter, while a strain of evangelical sentiment runs through it, it is chiefly occupied with a lively description of the horrors of war, and especially of civil war, and with a statement of the reasons which ought to constrain the men of New England to sympathize with all the distresses of their mother country. For the style, while it has some touches of antique phraseology, it is far more ornamented, polished and rhetorical, than the style of any other New England preacher of that day.

That you may have a specimen of the matter and style of his preaching, I introduce here some extracts from the sermon, as it lies before me.†

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* The works of Mr. Hooke, as set down by Wood, are—

"*New England's Tears for Old England's Fears,—Fast-Sermon.* Printed 1640, 41, in qu.

Several Sermons, as (1) *Sermon on Job* 2, 12.—Printed 1641, in qu. (2) *Sermon in New England in behalf of Old England, &c.*, printed 1645, in qu. and others.

"*The Privileges of the Saints on Earth beyond those in Heaven, &c.* Lond. 1673, in oct.

"*A Discourse of the Gospel-Day*—printed with the former book.

"He had a hand also in a *Catechism* published under the name of Joh. Davenport, and hath written other things which I have not yet seen."

To this catalogue may be added from Calamy, *The Slaughter of the Witnesses,*—and *A Sermon in the Supplement to the Morning Exercises.*

† The full title of the pamphlet is, "New England's Teares for Old England's Feares. Preached in a Sermon on July 23, 1640, being a day of Publique Humiliation, appointed by the Churches in behalf of onr native Countrey in time of feared dangers. By William Hooke, Minister of God's Word; sometimes of Axmouth in Devonshire, now of Taunton in New England. Sent over to a worthy member of the honorable House of Commons, who desires it may be for publike good. London, Printed by E. G. for

The text is Job ii, 13. "So they sat down with him upon the ground, seven days and seven nights, and none spake a word to him, for they saw that his grief was very great." After a brief opening of the text, the proposition is announced, "that it is the part of true friends and brethren to *sympathize* and fellow-feel with their brethren and friends when the hand of God is upon them. The proposition, or doctrine, having been "proved," according to the fashion of the day, by an induction of instances from the Scriptures, and illustrated by "reasons" from the nature of the case, we come to the "use" or application, which occupies the greater part of the discourse. And here the preacher says, "Before I come to the main use which I aim at, I will speak a few words, by way of information, to show how far they are from being friends or brethren, who are ready to rejoice at the afflictions and miseries of others. A right Edomitish quality; for Edom rejoiced over the children of Judah in the day of their destruction." "And it is commonly observed, that men and women who have turned witches, and been in league with the devil thereby to do mischief, are never given over so to do, till they begin to have an evil eye which grieveth at the prosperity and rejoiceth at the misery of others. Hence witchcraft is described by an evil eye."* "Nay it is the property of the Devil to be thus affected. Man's prosperity is his pain, and man's adversity his rejoicing, as we see in Job; neither is there scarce any thing that doth more import the seed of the Serpent in a man than this

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John Rothwell and Henry Overton, and are to be sould at the Sunne in Paul's Church-yard, and in Popes-head Alley. 1641." The copy which I have had the privilege of consulting, belongs to the Library of Harvard University, and is the only copy known to exist in this country.

* *Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos.*

To this classical citation with which the author of the Sermon decorates his margin, I may add that the trials of "Mrs. Elizabeth Godman," as detailed in the town and colony records, contain evidence equally conclusive with the reasoning above, to show that Mr. Hooke was not so far superior to his age as not to believe in actual witchcraft. Cudworth would never have suspected him, on that ground, "of having some hankering towards atheism."

same ἐπιχαιρεκακία, rejoicing in the evil and misery of another."—"And though I am not able to charge any of you with this cursed affection, yet I do wish you to look into your own hearts; for this I am sure, here are strong temptations sometimes leading towards it in this land, which, when they meet with a heart void of grace, must needs stir up the disposition in it."

The preacher then proceeds to the "use which he principally intends," which is to exhort his hearers to an affectionate sympathy with their countrymen in their native land. He reminds them, that there is no occasion for sorrow on their own account. He beseeches them, "Let us lay aside the thoughts of all our comforts this day, and let us fasten our eyes upon the calamities of our brethren in Old England, calamities at least imminent, calamities dropping, swords that have hung a long time over their heads by a twine thread, judgments long since threatened as foreseen by many of God's messengers in their causes, though not foretold by a spirit prophetically guided, heavy judgments in all probability, when they fall, if they are not fallen already." Then follows a vivid portraiture of war, and especially of the aggravated atrocities of civil war, which was the heavy judgment then coming down upon England. After which he proceeds in his exhortation.

"That which we are now called to is brotherly compassion, and to do the part of Job's friends in my text, to sit astonished, as at the crying sins, so at the feared sorrows of our countrymen; for in all probability their grief is very great. To this end you may think awhile of these particulars.

"First, of our civil relations to that land, and the inhabitants therein. There is no land that claims our name but England; we are distinguished from all the nations of the world by the name of English." "Did we not there draw in our first breath? Did not the sun first shine there upon our heads? Did not that land first bear us, even that pleasant island, but for sin I would say, that garden of the Lord, that paradise.

"Withal, let us think upon our natural relations to many in that land. Some of you, I know, have fathers and mothers there, some of you have brethren and sisters, others of you have brethren and kinsfolk. All these, sitting in grief and sorrow, challenge our sympathies, and it is a fearful sin to be void of natural affection. [Rom. i, 31.]"

"But what is more, let us remember how, for many of us, we stand in a spiritual relation to many, yea, very many in that land. The same thread of grace is spun through the hearts of all the godly under heaven. Such a one there is thy spiritual father; he begot thee in Christ Jesus through the Gospel; and there thou hast spiritual brethren and sisters and mothers. [Matth. xii, 50.] O, there is many a sweet, loving, humble, heavenly soul in that land, in whose bosom Christ breathes by his blessed Spirit every day, and such as I hope we shall ever love at the remotest distance, were it from one end of the earth to the other. Why, they are bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh in the church, nearer by far than friends and kindred; Oh, let their sorrows be our sorrows, and their miseries ours.

"Besides these relations, civil, natural, and spiritual, let us think upon the special ties and engagements that many there have upon us. Among your friends there, whether natural or spiritual, there are no doubt some whom you prize above the rest."—"Alas! these now, perhaps, are weeping in their secret places; these are now sitting with Job among the ashes. If you could but see the expressions of their sorrows, and hear their present speeches and complaints; and how they, their wives and little ones, do sit and lament together,—it may be, some of them in expectation of daily death, and how they fast and pray and afflict their souls, or how, peradventure, they wish themselves at this very instant with us; O you would weep and cry, and melt away into tears of sorrow.

"To this, add the consideration of the many mercies, heaps of rich and precious mercies, twenty, yea, thirty and forty years' mercies, and to some more, which we have there received; especially soul-mercies. There the light of

the glorious Gospel of Christ Jesus first shined forth unto thee; there thou first heardst his pleasant voice; there did his good Spirit first breathe upon thine heart; there didst thou first believe and repent and amend thy lewd ways. And never was there a land, I think, since Christ and his Apostles left the world, so richly blest in converts, or that ever brought forth, such and so many worthies into the world. Yet there now (alas! where sooner, when sin aboundeth?) doth judgment begin to reign, as we may greatly fear.

"Or is it not meet that we should bear a part with them in their sorrows, who have borne a part with them in their sins? Have we conferred so many sins as we have done, to speed on their confusion, and shall we bestow no sorrow on them? Shall we not help to quench the fire with our tears, that we have kindled with our sins?"

"Again; let us suppose that things were even now turned end for end, and that we were this day in distress, and those our brethren in peace; I am confident that they would condole with us, yea, and pour out many a prayer for us: for they did as much, I know, when this land lay sometime under dearth, another time when the Indians rebelled, a third when the monstrous opinions prevailed. And how have they always listened after our welfare, ebbing and flowing in their affections with us? How do they (I mean all this while, multitudes of well affected persons there) talk of New England with delight! How much nearer heaven, do some of their charities account this land than any other place they hear of in the world! Such is their good opinion of us."—"And when sometimes a New England man returns thither, how is he looked upon, looked after, received, entertained, the ground he walks upon beloved for his sake, and the house held the better where he is! how are his words listened to, laid up, and related frequently when he is gone! neither is any love or kindness held too much for such a man.

"Neither let this be forgotten, that of all the Christian people this day in the world, we in this land enjoy the greatest measure of peace and tranquillity. We have beaten our swords into ploughshares and our spears into pruning hooks,

when others have beaten their pruning hooks into spears and their ploughshares into swords. And now, as Moses said to the Reubenites and the Gadites, 'Shall your brethren go to war, and shall ye sit still?'—so, shall our brethren go to war, and we sit still and not so much as grieve with them? Shall they be wounded with the sword and spear, and not we be pierced so much as with brotherly sorrow?"

"What shall I say? If there should be any one heart here, digged out of a Marpesian rock, let such an one remember, lastly, that in the peace of that land, we shall have peace, and therefore in the misery of that land we shall never be happy. You know that God hath hitherto made that land a blessing to this. If Christ hath a vine here, that land hath as yet been the elm that hath sustained it. Thence hath the Lord thus stocked this American part with such worthies; there were they bred and nursed; thence, hitherto, have been our yearly supplies of men, and of many a useful commodity. If then they suffer, we may easily smart; if they sink, we are not likely to rise. And this at least may be a persuasive to a sordid mind, that will not be wrought upon by more ingenuous arguments.

"The merciful God stir-up all our affections, and give us that godly sympathy, which that land deserveth at our hands, and teach us to express it upon all occasions of ill tidings coming to our ears from thence. Yea, let us sit, at this time, like old Eli upon the wayside, watching as he did, for the ark of the Lord, with a trembling hand and heart. And let us be every day confessing of our Old England's sins, of its high pride, idolatry, superstition, blasphemies, blood, cruelties, atheisms. And let us never go to our secrets, without our censers in our hands for Old England, dear England still in divers respects, left indeed by us in our persons, but never yet forsaken in our affections. The good God of heaven have mercy upon it, and upon all his dear people and servants in it, for Christ's sake. *Amen.*"

Such is a specimen of our first teacher's style of preaching. I offer no comments on it. Only let me ask whether those who are most accustomed to depreciate the intellectual and

moral character of our ancestors, must not own that such a specimen refutes their prejudices?

Several other sermons of Mr. Hooke's appear to have been published, some of them at least while he was here in New England. Another work of his, printed in his old age, was entitled "The privileges of the saints on earth, beyond those in heaven"—a title which, though the book should be lost, deserves to be kept in remembrance. What sort of a man must he have been, who in his old age, disappointed, afflicted, persecuted, could write a book to show the privileges of the saints on earth beyond those in heaven—the privilege of laboring for the Redeemer, and the privilege of bearing the cross, and enduring reproach and sorrow for him. Methinks prejudice itself will own, that such a man must have had something of the same spirit with that apostle who said, "I am in a strait betwixt two, for to me to live is Christ, but to die is gain."

It may be stated here, that Mr. Hooke's home lot in this town, on which he lived, was at the southwest corner of College and Chapel streets, and was of the same extent with the other original town lots. That lot, with the house and accommodations upon it, he gave to this Church, on the express condition that it should never be alienated, "that it might be a standing maintenance either towards a teaching officer, schoolmaster, or the benefit of the poor in fellowship." The lot, however, was alienated in 1721, by a perpetual lease, to the trustees of what is now Yale College, for the sum of forty three pounds. This may have been legally right, but by the lease, the intention of the donor was as really defeated as it could have been by a direct sale. In a letter to the Church, confirming his gift and defining the terms of the donation, written after fifteen years' absence from them, he says: "Brethren, I daily have you in remembrance before the Lord, as retaining my old brotherly affection towards you, desiring the return of your prayers and brotherly love for him in whose heart you have a great interest. The Father of mercy be with you all, dwell in the midst of you, fill you with all joy and peace in believing, and bring you to his

everlasting kingdom in glory through Jesus Christ, in whom I rest."

This good man died on the 21st of March, 1678, aged seventy seven, and was buried in the cemetery of Bunhill fields, in London, which is a sort of Westminster Abbey of the Puritans and Dissenters.

From the facts which have been now exhibited, it may be seen what sort of men the fathers of New England had for ministers, and what zeal the fathers manifested, to have the work of the sanctuary well attended to. It was truly said by one of them, in his quaint way, that it was "as unnatural for a right New England man to live without an able ministry, as for a smith to work his iron without fire."

Their ministers were all educated men; educated at the universities of England in all the learning and science of that age, and especially in every thing pertaining to the science of theology. None of them counted himself properly acquainted with the Scriptures, till he could read them familiarly in their original languages. It was no uncommon thing for the ministers of that age, in their daily family devotions, to read not only the New Testament from the Greek, but the Old Testament from its native Hebrew. The fathers of New England did not think so meanly of themselves as to calculate on being instructed by an uninstructed ministry.

Their ministers were such men as they considered to be called of God, men of approved faith, purity and piety, men whom they could trust and honor. The more I see of the piety of the fathers, and especially of the piety of their ministers—the more I analize their characters, and separating their piety from the quaintness in which it was sometimes attired, and from that peculiar zeal about forms and institutions which resulted from their circumstances, see how they realized continually the grand and simple objects of Christian faith, and thus continually walked with God—the more am I constrained to honor them, and the more do I find myself instructed, reproved, stimulated by their example. The fathers

of these churches dreaded above all outward curses the curse of a worldly, unholy ministry.

Their ministers were expected to do the work of the sanctuary well. They did not suppose that a little unstudied declamation, or a little prosy traditional metaphysics, uttered from one Lord's day to another, "thought echoing to thought, and sermon to sermon," in perpetual monotony, was enough to feed the flock of God. They did not imagine that men whose spirits were continually jaded and exhausted by excess of labor, were the most likely to build up and adorn God's living temple. They intended that their ministers should not only be well qualified before entering the ministry, but should also, while in the ministry, have no excuse in the burthensomeness of their duties for not maintaining by various and continued study, that elastic vigor of mind which is always essential to successful effort. Their plan was to place, in every congregation, two preachers, well qualified, who, dividing between them the work of the ministry, should hold up each other's hands, and stimulate each other to constant personal and mutual improvement. To the enlarged views with which they acted, we of this generation are greatly indebted. The pulpit has not yet lost in New England, that eminence of intellectual and moral power which it gained when New England was planted. The original plan of an associate ministry in every church, has indeed been given up; but the benefits of that plan are still secured in a great measure, by the multiplication and communion of churches. Ministers still assist each other's labors, bear each other's burthens, guide each other's studies, and aid and stimulate each other's progress. If this is a benefit; if it has always been an honor and a blessing to the people of Connecticut, that from the beginning they have ever had "a scholar to their minister in every town or village;"* for this we are indebted to our ancestors. Let us give to posterity no occasion to reproach us with having impaired, in this respect, their just inheritance.

* Narrative of the King's Commissioners, in 1666, Hutch. III, 413.

# DISCOURSE V.

## JOHN DAVENPORT IN ENGLAND, IN HOLLAND, AND IN THE NEW ENGLAND SYNOD OF 1637.

JOHN v, 35.—He was a burning and a shining light.

I HAVE reserved to this occasion the work of giving some account of the life and character of the Rev. John Davenport, the first pastor of this Church, and one of the two chief men in the company that founded the colony of New Haven.

He was born in the ancient city of Coventry, in the year 1597. Of his father we know only that he was at one time mayor of the city in which he resided, and that he was descended from a highly respectable family of that name in the county of Chester. Of his mother it is recorded that she was a pious woman, and that "having lived just long enough to devote him, as Hannah did her Samuel, to the service of the sanctuary, left him under the more immediate care of heaven, to fit him for that service." That mother's dying prayer received an early answer. Before the son had attained to fourteen years of age, "the grace of God had sanctified him with good principles;" and he had already entered upon that conscientious and devout manner of living by which he was ever afterwards distinguished.*

At the age of fourteen, he was admitted into one of the colleges of the university of Oxford,† where he pursued his studies not more than five years. A volume of his manuscript notes and sketches of sermons, bearing the date of 1615,‡ appears to indicate in some places, that sometime in

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* Magnalia, III, 52.

† Wood says that he was sent in 1613 to *Merton College*, and was transferred two years afterwards to *Magdalen Hall*. Mather, who was more likely to know, having Davenport's papers before him, says he was admitted into *Brazen-nose College*, when "he had seen two sevens of years in this evil world," which fixes the date in 1611.

‡ Preserved in the Library of Yale College.

the course of that year, he was officiating as domestic chaplain at Hilton castle, not far from the city of Durham. At the age of nineteen, he entered upon public life as a preacher in the great metropolis. He was at first an assistant to another minister; but afterwards he was vicar of St. Stephen's Church in Coleman street. He was soon distinguished and honored, not only for his accomplishments as a minister, but by his courageous devotedness to his people in a time of pestilence, when others either retreated from their posts or declined the dangerous duty of visiting the sick and afflicted.

He had left the university without taking the degree of Master of Arts; but in 1625* he returned to Oxford for a time, and having gone through the necessary exercises, he received that degree and the degree of Bachelor in Divinity together. He was by no means one of those whose studies are finished when they leave the walls of the university. He was not the less a hard student for being a laborious city preacher. "His custom was to sit up very late at his lucubrations;" but though "he found no sensible damage himself" from the practice, "his counsel was, that other students would not follow his example." His sermons were more elaborate, and written out more fully, than was generally customary among the preachers of that day; yet his sermons were not his only studies, "but the effects of his industry were seen by all men in his approving himself, on all occasions, an universal scholar."†

One of the members of his congregation in Coleman street, was Theophilus Eaton, with whom, though about six years older than himself, he had been intimate in childhood, the father of Eaton being then one of the ministers of Coventry. It had been the hope of Eaton's friends to see him in the ministry; but the providence that controls all things had other designs concerning him; and therefore the pious ambition of his friends was defeated. Being permitted to follow his own preferences, he became a merchant; and

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* Wood. † Mather.

in that employment he was eminent and successful. It may be presumed that Eaton's friendship for Davenport had something to do with bringing the young preacher to London, and fixing him there. Thenceforward the two lived in uninterrupted intimacy; they were rarely separated from each other; their history runs in one channel; their names are inseparably associated.

What a contrast to this beautiful picture of friendship and of a common destiny, do we find in the life of another of their Coventry schoolmates. There was only about a year's difference in age between John Davenport and his cousin Christopher; and long after Eaton had left Coventry and gone to his apprenticeship in London, the two cousins went to the university together, and were in the same college there.* But how great was the difference and distance between them afterwards. The one became a most thorough and fearless Puritan, the founder of a Puritan Church and colony in the wilderness of the new world. The other, with much of the same native genius and temper, after some two years' study in Oxford, became a papist, went to the continent, and connected himself with the Franciscan order of friars, pursued his studies at Doway, and in one of the universities of Spain, and at length came back to his native country, a Romish missionary, eminently learned and accomplished, under the assumed name of Franciscus a Sancta Clara. In this capacity, he became one of the chaplains to Queen Henrietta Maria, the wife of Charles I. He was an active, leading spirit in those stormy times, doing great service for the popish cause in England, raising money among the English papists for all sorts of purposes; writing books, gaining proselytes, and intriguing in all quarters, (the archbishop himself not excepted,) to bring about a reconciliation between the National Church of England, and the Church of Rome. During the interval between the downfall of the monarchy

* I follow here, the testimony of Wood, which on this point is not necessarily contradicted by that of Mather.

and the return of the Stuarts, he lived in obscurity, but not therefore inactively. At the restoration, he appeared again, and his faded honors revived and blossomed. King Charles II, having married a popish princess of Portugal, Franciscus a Sancta Clara became again chaplain to the Queen of England. He died in 1680, at the royal palace of Somerset House, and was buried in the Church of the Savoy Hospital, where William Hooke, the chaplain to Oliver Cromwell, had preached a few years before.

That Mr. Davenport, when vicar of St. Stephen's in Coleman street, had notwithstanding his youth, no inferior position among the men of the Puritan party in the Church of England, appears from various sources. "The ablest men about London," says Mather, "were his nearest friends." Dr. Preston, the master of Emmanuel College in Cambridge, a man who had declined the bishopric of Gloucester, and of whom it was understood, that had he been dishonest enough to be the ally or the tool of Buckingham, he might have been chancellor of England,—a man who by his eloquence as a preacher, his learning and skill in controversy, and his various talents for business, was, more than any other of his time, the head of the Puritans,—was numbered among the intimate friends of the young preacher at St. Stephen's. When Dr. Preston died, he left his posthumous works to the care of Mr. Davenport.

In the year 1627, an association was formed in London, with the design of providing for all parts of England an able and evangelical ministry, in connection with the established Church. Some explanation is necessary to make the plan of their proceedings intelligible to those who are not familiar with the ecclesiastical institutions of England. By an ancient arrangement in that country, the tenth part of all the products of the soil is devoted to the Church,—the tithes of each parish belonging ordinarily to the minister of the parish. During the ages of popery, however, the tithes of many parishes became appropriated to different monasteries,—the monastery in such cases providing a priest for the parish, who acting in

their behalf, was called the *vicar;* while the tithes of the parish, above what was necessary to pay the vicar, went to augment the revenues of the monastery. When Henry VIII, dissolved the monasteries, and distributed their wealth among his friends and courtiers, these *appropriated* tithes, as they were called, became the property of laymen, and were thenceforward called "lay *impropriations*"—the layman who owed the tithes of the parish, being obliged to pay some part of the tithes for the support of the parish clergyman, and enjoying, as his private property, all that surplus which formerly went to the monastery. In thousands of the parishes of England, the tithes are thus impropriated. The scheme in which Davenport and others were concerned, proposed to recover these revenues, or at least some part of them, for the use of the Church. They undertook to raise, by voluntary contribution, a fund which should be invested in the purchase of "lay impropriations," and the revenues of which should be employed in supporting lecturers,—or stated preachers,—in all those parts of the kingdom where there was most need of such a ministry. Mr. Davenport was one of the twelve trustees to whom the entire management of the undertaking was committed. The plan was regarded by the public with great favor; and in a very short time thirteen impropriations had been purchased at an expense of five or six thousand pounds. But to Laud, then bishop of London, such a movement seemed very threatening, inasmuch as preaching tended continually to the growth of Puritanism. Here was a sort of Home Missionary Society—a development of the principle of voluntary association, which if not crushed might grow too strong for control. He therefore represented to the king, that these trustees were engaged in a conspiracy against the Church, and caused them to be prosecuted in the court of the Exchequer, as an unlawful society. The result was a decision of that court, that the proceedings were unlawful; that the impropriations purchased should be confiscated; and that the trustees themselves were liable to be fined in the star chamber. But the unpopularity of the

prosecution was so great, that it was dropped at this point; and, the fund having been confiscated, the trustees escaped being punished as criminals by fines which might have stripped them of their private property.*

In reference to this passage of his life, Mr. Davenport, made the following record in his great Bible:

"Feb. 11, 1632. The business of the *feoffees*, being to be heard the third time at the Exchequer, I prayed earnestly that God would assist our counsellors in opening the case, and be pleased to grant that they might get no advantage against us to punish us as evil doers; promising to observe what answer he gave. Which seeing he hath graciously done, and delivered me from the thing I feared, I record to these ends:

1. To be more industrious in my family. 2. To check my unthankfulness. 3. To quicken myself to thankfulness. 4. To awaken myself to more watchfulness for the time to come, in remembrance of his mercy.

Which I beseech the Lord to grant; upon whose faithfulness in his covenant, I cast myself to be made faithful in my covenant. JOHN DAVENPORTE."*

By this time, or soon after, Mr. Davenport seemed to have become a decided non-conformist. It is related of him, on the authority of some written testimony of his own—"that he was first staggered in his conformity, and afterwards fully taken off, by set conferences and debates which himself and sundry other ministers obtained with Mr. John Cotton, then driven from Boston [in England] on account of his non-conformity."† Nor did he study one side of the question only. He had conferences with Bishop Laud, as well as with the

* Neal, II, 247.

† This is copied from Mather. The orthography of the name as here given is correct, if we permit every man to determine the spelling of his own name. Mr. Davenport, as we call him, always wrote his name John Davenporte. I have followed in this work the orthography adopted by his posterity, which was also adopted in the records both of the Church and of the town and colony.

‡ Preface to Power of Congregational Churches.

non-conformist Cotton. The bishop having the advantage of him by such arguments as the Star chamber afforded, said, in reference to these debates, "I thought I had settled his judgment." Accordingly the prelate expressed himself with some displeasure, when he found, near the close of the year 1633, that Davenport had not only openly "declared his judgment againt conformity with the Church of England," but had resigned his benefice and escaped from the warrant that was out against him, by fleeing into Holland.*

So conscientious was Mr. Davenport, that even when threatened with immediate danger, he would not retreat from his post without the free consent of those to whom he stood in the pastoral relation. "Being seasonably and sufficiently advertised" of the impending "vengeance" of the archbishop, "he convened the principal persons under his pastoral charge at a general vestry, desiring them on this occasion to declare what they would advise; for, acknowledging the right which they had in him as their pastor, he would not, by any danger, be driven from any service which they should expect or demand at his hands." "Upon a serious deliberation, they discharged his conscientious obligations, by agreeing with him that it would be best for him to resign." Having resigned, he still found that he could not be safe till he had put the sea between himself and the officers that were in pursuit of him.†

In the city of Amsterdam, there had been for many years a congregation of English Christians, organized upon Presbyterian principles, under the pastoral care of Mr. John Paget. That Church, having heard of Mr. Davenport's arrival in Holland, immediately sent messengers to meet him, with the invitation to be colleague with their aged pastor. Accordingly he labored for a season in the English Church at Amsterdam, with "great acceptance." But a difference soon arose between him and Mr. Paget, in respect to the indiscriminate baptism of children practiced in that congregation. The

* Wood. † Magnalia, III, 52.

practice there had been, as it was and is in the Established Church of England, to baptize the children of all sorts of parents, without any evidence or inquiry as to the fitness of the parents to enter into such a covenant. This Davenport refused to do, which gave great offense to Mr. Paget. The matter was in some way brought before the Dutch classis or presbytery, to which that English Church appears to have been subject; but though the classis acknowledged Mr. Davenport's "eminent learning and singular piety," and could not refrain from "approving his good zeal and care" respecting the fitness of parents offering their children for baptism, he had already made up his mind against the power of classical assemblies, as well as against the promiscuous administration of ordinances; and the result was, "the matter could not be accommodated; Mr. Davenport could not be allowed, except he would promise to baptize the children whose parents and sureties were, even upon examination, found never so much unchristianized, ignorant or scandalous." Being thus constrained to desist from the public exercise of his ministry, he confined himself to a private Sabbath evening lecture at his own lodgings; but that was soon complained of, and his lecture was given up. Several works were published on both sides during the progress of this controversy, the last of which, being Mr. Davenport's "Apologetical Reply," was printed at Rotterdam in 1636. Soon after this, having found by experience that a strict Presbyterian hierarchy is not much better than the yoke of prelacy, he returned to his native country, for the purpose of emigrating to America."*

From the first movement towards the planting of the Massachusetts colony, Mr. Davenport, though at that time he had no idea of leaving England himself, had much to do with the undertaking. That colony, from its beginning, had occasion to regard him as one of its chief patrons.† "And

* Magnalia, III, 53:

† He contributed £50, and his friend and parishioner Eaton paid £100 towards procuring the charter of Massachusetts in 1628. Hutchinson, III, 395. Eaton was one of the original patentees.

while he was in Holland," says Mather, "he received letters of Mr. Cotton, from the country whereto he had been thus a father, telling him that the order of the Churches and the commonwealth, was now so settled in New England, by common consent, that it brought into his mind the new heaven and the new earth wherein dwells righteousness." Accordingly he and his friend Theophilus Eaton, became the leaders of a new expedition to New England, which arrived at Boston, in the Hector and another vessel, on the 26th of June, 1637.*

Mr. Davenport was heartily welcomed by the ministers and Churches who were in New England before him, for he arrived at a time when the whole colony of Massachusetts was shaken with a religious controversy. There are certain opinions which always come forth, under one form or another, in times of great religious excitement, to dishonor the truth which they simulate, and to defeat the work of God by heating the minds of men to enthusiasm, and thus leading them into licentiousness of conduct. These opinions, essentially the same under many modifications, have been known in various ages by various names, as Antinomianism, Familism, and—in our day—Perfectionism. Persons falling into these errors commonly begin by talking mystically and extravagantly about grace, the indwelling of the Spirit, the identity of believers with the person of Christ, or of the Holy Ghost, or of God; as they proceed they learn to despise all ordinances and means of grace, they put contempt upon the Bible as a mere dead letter, worth nothing in comparison with their inspiration, they reject and revile all civil government and order; and not unfrequently they end in denying theoretically all the difference between right and wrong so far as their conduct is concerned, and in rushing to the shameless perpetration of the most loathsome wickedness. This intellectual and spiritual disease had broken out in Massachusetts, and threatened to become epidemic. An artful,

* Winthrop, I, 227.

enthusiastic and eloquent woman, forgetting, like some women of our day, the modesty of her sex, had set herself up for a preacher; and by the adroitness with which she addressed herself to the weaknesses and prejudices of individuals, and drew to her side the authority of some of the most honored names in the colony, she seemed likely not only to lead her own blind followers to the wildest extravagances, but to spread division through all the Churches. In this crisis a man so eminent as Davenport, so much respected by all parties, so exempt from any participation in the controversy, so learned in the Scriptures, so skilled in the great art of marking distinctions and detecting fallacies, could not but be welcomed by all—to use the words of Mather, "as Moses welcomed Jethro, hoping that he would be as eyes to them in the wilderness." A synod was soon to be held at which the controversies of the day were to be examined, and if possible adjusted. On the 17th of August, Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone having already come from Connecticut to attend the expected synod, "Mr. Davenport preached at Boston (it being the lecture day) out of that in 1 Cor. 'I exhort you, brethren, &c., that there be no divisions among you,' &c.; wherein," says Gov. Winthrop, "as he fully set forth the nature and danger of divisions, and the disorders which were among us, so he clearly discovered his judgment against the new opinions and bitter practices which were sprung up here."*

The synod met at Cambridge (then called Newtown) on the thirtieth of August, Mr. Hooker of Hartford, and Mr. Buckly of Concord, being the moderators, and "all the teaching elders in the country and some new come out of England, as Mr. Davenport," having seats in the assembly. During the three weeks' session which ensued, Mr. Davenport was active in promoting the ends aimed at in the sermon just referred to. "The learning and wisdom of this worthy man," says Mather, "in the synod then assembled, did con-

* Winthrop, I, 236.

tribute more than a little to dispel the fascinating mists which had suddenly disordered our affairs." The session being finished, Mr. Davenport, at the request of the synod, preached in Boston from Phil. iii, 16,—"Nevertheless, whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing." In his sermon, "he laid down the occasions of differences among Christians, declared the effect and fruit of the synod, and with much wisdom and argument persuaded to unity."*

The wealth, the reputation, and the intellectual and moral endowments of the newly arrived company of emigrants, made it an object with each of the colonies already planted, to secure so valuable an accession. They were invited to Plymouth; offers of the most liberal character were made to them by the people of Massachusetts; but for various reasons they determined to attempt a new and independent settlement. Of these reasons, the most obvious and most cogent was, that their chief men were Londoners, accustomed chiefly to commercial pursuits, and there was no considerable prospect at that time of building up another commercial town in either of those elder colonies. Another reason was found in the expectation that some invasion would soon be made upon the liberties of Massachusetts and Plymouth by the sending over of a general governor. In some way they expected, by establishing a new colony out of the bounds of any existing jurisdiction, without any charter, or any recognition of dependence on the king, to escape or resist the power of the expected general governor. Davenport knew that Laud, the head of the royal commissioners for the colonies, was his personal enemy, and had uttered against him, on hearing of his retreat into America, the significant threat, *My arm shall reach him there*,† and that therefore he, of all men, had no reason to expect any favor from a governor-general ruling in the name of the archbishop. Is it not possible that the bold thought was entertained of asserting, if it should be neces-

* Winthrop, I, 241.

† Neal, III, 229.

sary, an absolute independence of the English crown, and of the English state? He who reads their records, will find nothing to contradict such an hypothesis. May it not have been among their imaginings, that the progress of tyranny in their native country would bring to New England increasing multitudes of such men as they were, with increasing resources, till, in a few years, they should be able to defy invasion? Nay, had not the progress of tyranny in England been arrested by the breaking out of civil war, and the subversion of the monarchy, might not such an idea have been realized, and the Declaration of Independence have been anticipated by more than a century?

Just before the arrival of the emigrants from Coleman street, the Pequot war had made the colonists acquainted with a tract of coast till that time unexplored. The soldiers who, after the Mystic fight, pursued the flying Pequots from their ancient seat east of the Thames, to the swamp beyond the Housatonic, where their race was extinguished, had been struck especially with the vernal beauty of this place. Here they had remained several days, waiting for information of the route of the enemies they were pursuing. Captain Stoughton had written to the Governor of Massachusetts, "The Providence of God guided us to so excellent a country at Quaillipioak river, and so along the coast as we travelled, as I am confident we have not the like in English possession as yet; and probable it is that the Dutch will seize it if the English do not: it is too good for any but friends."* Captain Underhill, too, had brought home to Boston his testimony of "that famous place called Queenapiok," that "it hath a fair river, fit for harboring of ships, and abounds with rich and goodly meadows."† Mr. Eaton, therefore, early in September, came to this place with a few others of his company, to examine it in person. He appears to have determined at once on this, as the best spot for their undertaking; and accordingly he left a few men here through the

* Hutchinson, III, 62. † III, Mass. Hist. Coll. VI, 13.

winter, to make some little preparation for commencing the settlement.*

When Mr. Davenport and his company, in the following spring, removed from Massachusetts to this place, bringing with them many families who had been settled there, but who were induced by the bright prospects of this new enterprise, to remove themselves out of that jurisdiction, the migration was felt to be a great weakening of the Massachusetts colony. An admirable letter to the government of that colony, was written by Mr. Davenport, and signed by himself and Mr. Eaton, declaring the reasons of their attempting a separate and independent colony. The whole letter is full of affection and devotion, and the conclusion particularly, which I read to you from the original autograph, is eloquent.

"The season of the year and other weighty considerations, compelled us to hasten to a full and final conclusion which we are at last come unto, by God's appointment and direction, we hope in mercy, and have sent letters to Connecticut for a speedy transacting the purchase of the parts about Quillypieck from the natives which may pretend title thereunto: by which act we are absolutely and irrevocably ingaged that way, and we are persuaded that God will order it for good unto these plantations, whose love so abundantly above our deserts or expectations, expressed in your desire of our abode in these parts, as we shall ever retain in thankful memory, so we shall account ourselves thereby obliged to be any way instrumental and serviceable for the common good of these plantations as well as of those, which the Divine prov-

* Dr. Dana (Serm. on Completion of 18th Cent., 45) says, "Seven men began the settlement in the autumn of 1637. Mr. Joshua Atwater, a gentleman of distinction and opulence, was of the seven. They passed the winter in an indifferent shelter, thrown up for the season, near the South Market." He adds that Mr. Atwater "built the house now occupied by his great-grandson, Thomas Atwater, a convenient habitation, though older, by about fifty years, than any in the city." The same house is still standing in Fleet street, owned and occupied by descendants of the original proprietor. The "South Market," I am told, was at the intersection of George and Church streets with Meadow street and Congress Avenue.

idence hath combined together in as strong bond of brotherly affection, by the sameness of their condition, as Joab and Abishai were, whose several armies did mutually strengthen them both against several enemies—2 Sam. 10—9, 10, 11, or rather they are joined together as Hippocrates his twins, to stand and fall, to grow and decay, to flourish and wither, to live and die together. In witness of the premises we subscribe our names, JOHN DAVENPORT,
THEOPH. EATON."

The 12th day of the 1st Month Anno 1638*.

Behold him then planted here in New Haven. He and his friend Eaton build their dwellings over against each other on the same street; and the intimacy begun when they were children and strengthened in their earlier manhood, is prolonged without interruption, till in a good old age, death separates them for a little season, to meet again in heaven. They were never out of each other's thoughts; and rarely could a day pass by, in which they did not see each other and take counsel together. The voice of prayer, or the evening psalm, in one of their dwellings, might be heard in the other. Whatever changes came upon one family, the other was sure to partake immediately in the sorrow or the joy. In such neighborhood and intimacy, these two friends passed their days here, till the full strength of manhood in which they came, had gradually turned to venerable age. They saw trials, many and various; trials such as weigh heaviest upon the spirit, and cause the heart to faint; but in all their trials they had one hope, one consolation; and how refreshing to such men, in such vicissitudes, is the sympathy of kindred souls, well-tried and true. Strong in themselves, with the gifts of nature, the endowments of education and experience, and the unction of Almighty grace; strong in their individual reliance upon God their help and Savior; they were the stronger for their friendship, the stronger for their mutual

* This letter was first published in the appendix to Winthrop, (I, 404,) and afterwards in the Mass. His. Coll. (III Series, III, 165,) from which it has been frequently copied. The original is still in possession of F. B. Winthrop, Esq., of this city.

counsels the stronger for the sympathy by which each drew the other towards the great fountain of strength, and love, and life.

Such are the friendships of good men. Their intimacies make them better, holier, happier, more patient for endurance, wiser for counsel, stronger for every godlike action. "But the ungodly are not so."

# DISCOURSE VI.

## JOHN DAVENPORT AND THEOPHILUS EATON THE FOUNDERS OF A NEW REPUBLIC: VICISSITUDES IN NEW HAVEN TILL 1660.

MATT. iii, 3.—The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord.

SOME lineaments of the character of Mr. Davenport and his friend Governor Eaton, may be traced in the institutions which they gave to the little community of which they were the founders, and in the conduct of that commonwealth while it was under their controlling influence. None who read the records of the town and colony, can doubt either that in whatever respects New Haven differed from the other New England colonies, the difference was owing chiefly to the influence of these two men; or that in whatever particulars the institutions and government of New Haven were conformed to those of the other colonies, that conformity was because these two men were of the same sort with those truly noble men who planted Plymouth, and the Bay, and the Connecticut.

First, then, the fact that John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton had this commanding influence in the colony of New Haven, shows that they were extraordinary men. What gave them this influence over their associates? They brought with them no royal grant making them Lords Proprietaries, as Penn and Calvert were in their respective provinces. They had no commission from king or parliament, to exercise authority over the emigrants that came with them. Their influence could not be ascribed to their wealth; for though Eaton was the wealthiest of the colonists—his estate being rated at three thousand pounds; and though Davenport was one of the nine who, after the governor, were the richest inhabitants of the town, their estates being rated at one thousand pounds each; their superiority in this respect

was at the most but trifling, and in such a country as this was then, wealth alone can do but little towards giving its possessor permanent influence. To what then shall we ascribe their controlling influence in the colony? Will you say it was because they were followed hither by a company of weak, enthusiastic men, easily led and managed? But weak, enthusiastic people, easily managed by one man to-day, will be just as easily led by another to-morrow. It was not so in this case. The people of New Haven, in eighteen successive annual elections, made Theophilus Eaton their chief magistrate; and for thirty years, through all sorts of changes, they adhered to their honored and venerated pastor with constant attachment. The great power of these two men had its seat in the understandings and affections of the people. It was none other than the power of intellectual superiority combined with unquestionable moral worth. That they had such power, in such a community, proves that they were of the number of those who are created to govern their fellow men by the divine right of genius and virtue.

It will be worth our while, then, to look at the distinctive character of the New Haven colony, as illustrating the personal character of its two principal founders.

1. New Haven was distinguished above the other colonies by its zeal for education. On this point, if I should go into all the particulars which would be interesting, I should greatly transgress the limits which I have prescribed to myself; and indeed there is the less occasion for this, as the subject has been recently treated by another, far better than I could hope to do.* I will only say, then, that if we of this city enjoy in this respect any peculiar privileges—if it is a privilege that any poor man here, with ordinary health in his family, and the ordinary blessing of God upon his industry, may give to his son, without sending him away from home, the best education which the country affords—if it is a privilege to us to live in a city in which learning, sound and thorough educa-

* Kingsley's Historical Discourse.

tion, is, equally with commerce and the mechanic arts, a great public interest—if it is a privilege to us to record among our fellow citizens some of the brightest names in the learning and science, not of our country only, but of the age, and to be conversant with such men, and subject to their constant influence in the various relations of society—if it is a privilege that our young mechanics, in their associations, can receive instruction in popular lectures from the most accomplished teachers—if, in a word, there is any privilege in having our home at one of the fountains of light for this vast confederacy—the privilege may be traced to the influence of John Davenport, to the peculiar character which he, more than any other man, gave to this community in its very beginning. Every one of us is daily enjoying the effects of his wisdom and public spirit. Thus he is to-day our benefactor; and thus he is to be the benefactor of our posterity through ages to come. How aptly might that beautiful apostrophe of one of our poets have been addressed to him:

> "The good begun by thee shall onward flow
> In many a branching stream, and wider grow;
> The seed that in these few and fleeting hours,
> Thy hands, unsparing and unwearied, sow,
> Shall deck thy grave with amaranthine flowers,
> And yield thee fruit divine in heaven's immortal bowers."

2. Another characteristic of the New Haven colony, while it continued under the influence of its two great fathers, was great strictness in the administration of the laws. In the words of Hubbard, "They were very vigorous in the execution of justice, and especially the punishment of offenders." The meaning of this is not, that their laws were more severe than those of the other colonies; on the contrary, I am persuaded, after considerable investigation, that the reverse is true. The meaning is, that they carried all their laws into effect, with a more impartial and undeviating strictness than was practiced elsewhere. He who examines our public records, with reference to this matter, will find much reason to believe that the historian just quoted did not speak at ran-

dom. For myself I may say, that in studying these records, I have acquired new views of the dignity which belongs to the place of the civil magistrate. I seem to see, in the proceedings of the courts, in which the Governor constantly presided, something of the original of that description which Mather has so elaborately given, in writing the life of him whom he calls the Moses of New Haven. "He carried in his very countenance a majesty which cannot be described; and in his dispensations of justice, he was a mirror for the most imitable impartiality, but ungainsayable authority of his proceedings, being awfully sensible of the obligations which the oath of a judge lays upon him. Hence he who would most patiently bear hard things offered to his person in private cases, would never pass by any public affronts or neglects, when he appeared under the character of a magistrate. But he still was the guide of the blind, the staff of the lame, the helper of the widow and the orphan, and all the distressed. None that had a good cause was afraid of coming before him. On the one side, in his days did the righteous flourish; on the other side, he was the terror of evil doers." I cannot doubt that this character of Governor Eaton as a magistrate, is substantially correct. He and those who were associated with him in the government, appear to have been greatly distinguished by a strong love of justice. They felt that it was for them to see to it always that the "rules of righteousness" were "duly attended." Such a feeling was inculcated upon them, and upon the people, by their pastor. He had strong views of the divine institution of civil government, and especially of that government which the people here had agreed upon as most agreeable to the will of God. Never elsewhere, I believe, has the world seen magistrates who felt more deeply that they were God's ministers executing God's justice. The law which they administered was not the law of man merely; it was not simply a conventional code, or an arbitrary system of regulations; it was the law of God, the great eternal rule of righteousness, drawn out and applied to the particular exigencies of this community; and

they felt that for them to wink at any offenses against it, was to usurp God's supremacy.

Something of the effect of this influence still lingers among us. No small part of our population consists of strangers, if not foreigners—men whose whole character has been formed elsewhere and under other agencies. Magistracy too has lost much of its sacredness, by being sometimes committed to unclean or incompetent hands, and by the abuse which party malignancy continually heaps upon the persons of magistrates. Yet, after all, there is here a veneration for law, and a "deference to judicial decisions,"* which I have not seen surpassed in any similar community. Wo to those men who are laboring to counteract such a sentiment. If they do it in the sacred name of liberty, or in the more sacred name of philanthropy, theirs is the greater condemnation. Far distant be the day when here the white wand of an unarmed constable shall lose its potency, or when that word, THE LAW, shall no longer be a word of power to still the tumult of the people.

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* One day last spring, just before the delivery of this discourse, the author, being in Boston, entered the gallery of the Marlborough chapel, where a society, claiming a high place among the philanthropic institutions of the age, was holding its anniversary. One of the leading spirits and public agents of the society was holding forth his sentiments on that part of the Federal Constitution, which requires an apprentice or servant fleeing from one State into another, to be given up to those who, by the laws of the State from which he flees, are entitled to his services. He was expressing the hope that juries in New England, trying cases under this constitutional law, would so far perjure themselves as to bring in verdicts contrary to known law and fact; and in so doing, he expressed great contempt for that "strange deference to judicial decisions," as he called it, which is so prevalent in the community,—as if he did not know that it is this very deference to law as expounded and applied by the judges of the land, that permits him to wear his head in safety.

An association, protesting against an existing law as unwise, or unjust, and using lawful means to change the law, is one thing. An association which undertakes to pronounce the law no law,—to denounce the sworn ministers of the law, to whom the constitution gives no discretionary power, as criminals "against freedom, humanity and religion,"—to organize measures for resisting the law,—is another thing, and is likely to do more harm, by teaching people to despise all government and magistracy, than it can do good by any philanthropic endeavors.

3. The colony of New Haven was distinguished among the colonies of the New England confederation, for scrupulous justice towards the Indians. Hubbard testifies respecting the fathers of New Haven,—"They have all along been mercifully preserved from any harm or violence from the Indians, setting aside a particular assault or two, the means whereof hath been a due carefulness in doing justice to them upon all occasions against the English, yet far avoiding any thing like severity or flattery for base ends."* How often, and how justly, has Penn been lauded for the fact, that under his administration his colony had no collision with the Indians. And is not the same praise due to the civil and religious leaders of the New Haven colony for the parallel fact, that the relations between New Haven and the wild tribes around were always those of perfect amity? The Indians of this neighborhood, as all our records show, looked upon their English neighbors as their protectors. When one of them felt himself wronged by the white men, he came to the courts here with his complaint as freely as if he were a citizen. The testimony of an Indian was good against a white man. Again and again white men were found guilty and punished on no other testimony. The white man who wronged an Indian, was punished the more severely, as his conduct tended to prejudice the heathen against the gospel, and to cause the name of God to be blasphemed among the Gentiles. The Indian who was found guilty of an offense, was treated the more gently because of his ignorance, and being dismissed with such punishment as the rules of righteousness seemed to require in such a case, was told that had he been an Englishman he would not have come off so easily. All the maligners of the Puritans may be defied to show, that one rood of ground, within this colony, was acquired otherwise than by a free, fair bargain, and equitable payment.† In all this you see the character of those two men by whom the policy of this jurisdiction was chiefly influenced, just as

* Hubbard, 392.

† Some details on this subject will be found in the Appendix No. VIII.

plainly as in some recent measures towards the Indians you see the character,—I will not say of those who are in authority,—but of those by whose influence in this matter, those in authority are governed, as the clouds are turned by the wind.

4. The little theocracy in which Eaton and Davenport were the Moses and Aaron, was distinguished from the other New England colonies by the absence of frivolous or extravagant legislation. Great ridicule has been thrown upon the Puritans for their sumptuary laws, their regulations respecting dress, manners, and expenditure, their authoritative interference with the varying fashions of the day. And to a great extent it has been taken for granted, upon unfounded report, that the old New Haven colony was the scene of whatever was most absurd, or most ludicrous in that sort of legislation. Liars of all degrees, as if to take their revenge on Governor Eaton for his law against lying, have exercised their talent in defaming his memory, by defaming the colony for which he lived.

Now as for sumptuary laws,—laws regulating expenditure and restraining extravagance and folly,—I have no disposition to vindicate them on the score of policy. But that they are intrinsically and essentially ridiculous, I cannot admit. I have never ascertained from history that such laws, enacted by Lycurgus or Numa Pompilius, brought boundless contempt upon their authors. And how such laws must needs be more absurd or ludicrous in Massachusetts, than they were in Sparta or in Rome, I am at a loss to understand. And still more mysterious is it, how the New Haven colony, in which no such laws ever existed, should be made a scapegoat, to bear away into the wilderness the sins in this particular of her more eastern confederates.

Laws were made in some of the colonies, prohibiting the use of tobacco, which was considered as a sort of intoxication. To the lovers of tobacco, this doubtless seems arbitrary and absurd. But such as are unable to enter into their peculiar feelings, having never acquired a relish for this filthiest and most noisome of narcotic poisons, may be excused from join-

ing on this account in the condemnation of Puritan tyranny, and may perhaps be allowed to entertain some doubt whether such a law, especially in a new colony, might not be reasonably vindicated. But however that question may be decided, the matter of fact is, that the use of tobacco, in a proper place, was not unlawful in the New Haven jurisdiction. The only law here on this subject, was a law to guard against accidents by fire; and it prohibited the taking of tobacco "in the streets," or "about the houses," or "in any place where it can do mischief." Similar laws now exist in the cities of Massachusetts, and ought to exist in every city that pretends to be well regulated.

Laws were made in some of the colonies against men's wearing long hair; laws which, to those who have observed how some of the foplings of this day are beginning to caricature humanity, and to make themselves more hideous than owls, will seem to be very excusable; but no such laws existed in New Haven.

Laws were made elsewhere to restrain the vagaries and follies of fashion in regard to female attire. But I can find no evidence that any thing of the kind was here attempted. Here the ladies were permitted, as now, to put on whatever decorations seemed good in their own eyes, and in the eyes of their husbands and fathers, subject to no other checks than those imposed by the good sense of a sober-minded and intelligent community.

The reason of all this must be found in the fact that the settlers of New Haven, and especially those two by whose influence every thing of this kind appears to have been chiefly directed, were men who saw, or at least felt, the impolicy of legislative interference in such matters. The other colonies were settled by emigrants from various provincial towns and agricultural districts; and in the eyes of such people, however intelligent and sensible in other respects, novelties and extravagances of apparel are apt to seem particularly heinous. New Haven was settled chiefly by a migration from the city of London; the principal adventurers were merchants; and

the two leaders were men who had seen the various modes and fashions of various countries, and whose position in their own country had enabled them to see so much of "Vanity Fair," that they were not easily alarmed by the few rags of it which might follow them into the wilderness. If the weightier matters of education, religious order and instruction, sound morals, and the thorough execution of justice, could be secured, they were willing that others should care for the "mint, anise, and cummin" of apparel and furniture.

I shall be considered by some as giving a partial, if not a partisan view, if I fail to notice two other topics, which, however, can be noticed here only very briefly.

Did these men believe in witchcraft? Certainly they did. Mr. Davenport, as well as Mr. Hooke, introduced the subject sometimes into his preaching, just as Sir William Blackstone, at a much later period, introduced it into his commentaries on the laws of England. Mr. Davenport probably never called in question for a moment, the then universal opinion of the reality of commerce between human beings and the invisible powers of darkness. And shall he be set down as a weak and credulous man because he did not throw off all the errors of the age? Shall the age in which he lived be deemed an age of extraordinary credulity, because it did not rid itself of prejudices and terrors which had been growing in the world ever since the flood? Shall the age of animal magnetism take credit to itself because it does not believe in witchcraft?

Yet it may be stated, as one of the points of difference between this and the sister colonies, that there was never any execution or condemnation for witchcraft within the bounds of the New Haven jurisdiction. One execution took place at Hartford in 1647, and, within a few years afterwards, another at Stratford, and a third at Fairfield. In 1648, the first execution for this crime took place in Massachusetts. But here, in 1653, a woman finding herself talked of as suspected, sued all her neighbors, including several of the first people in New Haven, for defamation; and the result was,

that while she was herself constrained to acknowledge that some things in her conduct were sufficient to justify suspicion—among which causes of suspicion, was that discontented and froward temper which Mr. Davenport in his preaching had described as preparing a person to be wrought upon by the devil in this way;—and though she was seriously warned by the court not to go about with railing speeches, but to meddle with her own business; the crime of witchcraft could not be made out against her. Twice afterwards the same person was called in question for this crime, but in each case, though the evidence was sufficient, according to the notions then current, to justify suspicion, she escaped condemnation. Under almost any other jurisdiction of that age, this woman, instead of dying as she did in her bed, would have died upon the gallows, or have been burned alive. The reason of her escaping here must be found, I apprehend, in the fact that here, according to their interpretation of the "judicial laws of God," nothing was considered as proved but by the testimony of two or more witnesses to the same particular; and in the fact that there was no jury here, to determine the question of guilt or innocence, according to their impressions received from the testimony as a whole. The trial by jury is invaluable as a security for liberty against a strong government, but it is not the surest way of excluding popular prejudices and passions from the administration of justice.*

But I am asked again, Did not these good fathers of ours inflict punishment on the Quakers? I answer, They did, not indeed by hanging, but by branding, whipping, and fining; and I doubt not that if these penalties had not kept their coast clear from such invaders, they would have proceeded to hanging. They did not understand aright the great principles of universal religious freedom. They came here for their own freedom and peace; and that freedom and peace they thought themselves authorized and bound to defend against all invaders. The Quakers, however, whom

* Kingsley, 53 and 100.

they punished, were not a sect rising up on the soil of New England, and claiming simply the right of separate worship and of free discussion. They were invaders who came from Old England to New, for the sole and declared purpose of disturbance and revolution. They came propagating principles which were understood to strike at the foundation not only of the particular religious and civil polity here established, but of all order and of society itself. In their manner of proceeding they outraged peace and order, openly cursing and reviling the faith and worship which the New Englanders had come to the world's end to enjoy in quietness; the magistrates venerable for wisdom and public spirit, and the ministers whose gifts and faithfulness were esteemed the brightest glory of the land. They outraged the religious rights and freedom of those whom they came to enlighten, thrusting themselves into worshiping assemblies on the Lord's day and on other occasions, and interrupting the worship or the sermon with their outcries of contradiction and cursing. They outraged natural decency itself; one of their women-preachers, Deborah Wilson by name, "went through the streets of Salem naked as she came into the world;"* and in other instances, they came in the same plight into the public religious assemblies;† and all to show by that sign the nakedness of other people's sins. I cannot doubt that such people—if indeed they were not too insane to be accountable for any thing—deserved to be punished, not for their opinions, but for their actions; not for their exercising their own rights, but for their invading the rights of others; not for their publication of offensive and even disorganizing doctrines, but for their outrages on decorum, and their disturbances of the public peace. If we condemn our fathers in this matter, it should not be because they punished such offenders, but because they punished them for heresy.

But let us compare the conduct of our ancestors in this very matter, with the conduct of some in our more enlight-

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* Hutchinson, I, 204.

† Mather, Magn., VII, 100.

ened and free thinking age. The real successors of the Quakers of that day—the men who come nearest to those enthusiasts in their actual relations to the public—are not to be found in those orderly and thrifty citizens of Philadelphia who are distinguished from their fellow citizens in Chestnut street, by a little more circumference of the hat, and a little peculiarity of grammar, and perhaps a little more quietness and staidness of manner. What we call Quakers in this generation, are no more like George Fox in his suit of leather, than the pomp and riches of an English Archbishop are like the poverty of an Apostle. Do you find these men going about like mad men, reviling magistrates, and all in authority, cursing ministers, and publishing doctrines that strike at the existence of all government? No, if you would find the true successors of the Quakers of 1650, you must look elsewhere. The anti-slavery agitators of our day, are extensively regarded very much as the Quakers were regarded by our ancestors. Some of them execrate our constitution and our laws, and revile our magistrates, and utter all manner of reproach against our ministers and our churches. Some of them go about preaching doctrines which tend not only to the extinction of the "peculiar institutions" of one part of our country, and the subversion of our "glorious union," but to absolute and universal anarchy. We cannot indeed charge upon them every thing that was charged upon the ancient Quakers; Mr. Garrison himself has not yet put on the leather jerkin of George Fox; nor have we heard of his attempting, like Humphrey Norton, to break in with his ravings upon the solemn worship of a religious assembly on the Sabbath; nor has Miss Grimké, or Miss Abby Kelly, set herself to testify against the sins of the people in just the same style with Deborah Wilson. But they have published doctrines highly offensive to public opinion, and as is commonly believed highly dangerous to society; they have invaded Congress with their petitions; nay, it is even reported that they have been seen in public places, walking arm in arm with persons of African descent and complexion. And how are these men

treated, in our age of toleration and free inquiry? How are they treated by those who are most fiercely liberal, in the condemnation of our ancestors for persecuting the Quakers? The answer is found in the roar of mobs and the smoke of smouldering ruins—in presses violently suppressed—in the murder of editors, and the acquittal of the murderers by perjured jurymen. How are they treated in those enlightened regions of the Union, where Puritanism, Blue laws, and New England intolerance, are renounced most fervently and devoutly? Let one of these "pestilent fanatics" adventure on a mission in Mississippi or Virginia, and how much better does he fare than Humphrey Norton fared in Plymouth and New Haven?* The "little finger" of a Lynch Committee, is "thicker than the loins" of a Puritan magistracy, against the fanatics that make war upon established opinions and cherished institutions.

What then is the chief difference between that age and the present, in respect to tolerance, in an extreme case like that of the Quakers? The difference is just this. Our ancestors made laws against the fanatics with whom they had to do, and boldly and manfully maintained those laws. The Quaker who suffered in New England, suffered the penalty of a known law, after a judicial conviction. In our day, on the other hand, laws to limit freedom of opinion and of discussion, are inconsistent with the enlightened and liberal maxims of government, that now so happily prevail; and therefore what the law cannot do, in that it is weak, must be done by the mob, without law and against law, in that high court of equity where rage, more fanatical than any other fanaticism, is at once accuser, witness, judge, and executioner.

But we return to our narrative of the life of Davenport. Some things which might properly be included in such a narrative, have already been noticed, in the account which has been given of the organization of the Church, the election and ordination of officers, the erection of the house of worship, and the forms of worship and of discipline.

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* Kingsley, 99.

At first, as we have already observed, the two chief founders of our community saw their enterprise succeeding in some measure according to their hopes. Immediately a town, with "fair and stately houses," began to rise around them. The foundations of the Church and of the civil State were laid according to their apprehensions of the word of God. The house of worship was reared, and filled with devout and consenting worshipers. Confederate neighbor towns were built on the right and on the left, and plantations of great promise were made on the island. And while in their native country all things were tending to confusion, and men's hearts were failing them for fear of what might come upon the land in the progress of God's judgments, here seemed to be realized more and more the vision of the new heavens and the new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness; and already men were beginning to look to this new world for lights and models by which to reform the institutions of the old.

In the year 1642, letters were sent from several members of both houses of parliament, and from some ministers in England, earnestly inviting Mr. Davenport, with Mr. Hooker of Hartford and Mr. Cotton of Boston, to return to their native country for a season, in order to assist in conducting to a happy issue the great revolution then in progress there. Those who made the request are said to have been desirous of securing the independence of the Churches, and were probably solicitous to obtain in England at that time the assistance of men so distinguished by their abilities and experience, who would take strong ground not only against the then established system, but also against that "classic hierarchy," as Milton called it, which the Scotch were then endeavoring to force upon the English Churches. "The condition," said they, "wherein the state of things in this kingdom doth now stand, we suppose you have from the relations of others; whereby you cannot but understand how great need there is of the help of prayer, and improvement of all good means, from all parts, for the settling and com-

posing the affairs of the Church. We therefore present to you our earnest desires of you all. To show wherein, or how many ways, you may be useful, would easily be done by us, and found by you, were you present with us. In all likelihood you will find opportunity enough to draw forth all that helpfulness which God shall afford by you. And we doubt not these advantages will be such, as will fully answer all inconveniences yourselves, Churches or plantations, may sustain in this your short voyage and absence from them. Only the sooner you come, the better."

When this invitation was received at Boston, such of the magistrates and ministers of that colony as could be conveniently assembled, met for consultation. Most of them thought that it was to be regarded as "a call of God;" yet they chose not to give any definite advice till they should hear from Connecticut and New Haven. Upon the return of the messenger that was sent to these parts, it appeared that Mr. Hooker was averse to the proposal, "nor thought it any sufficient call for them to go a thousand leagues to confer with a few persons that differed from the rest in matter of church government." Mr. Davenport was himself of a different mind; but the brethren of his Church, having set time apart to understand the mind of God in the case, came to the conclusion, "that in regard they had but one officer, they could not see their way clear to spare him for so long a time as such a journey required." Mr. Cotton was strongly inclined to comply with the invitation, and would have gone, if the others had not declined going. Had any of them gone, it is probable they would have been drawn, like Hugh Peters, into the vortices of that vast commotion, and would never have returned to their Churches in New England.*

* Winthrop, II, 76. Hubbard, 409. Hutchinson, I, 115. It is somewhat remarkable that these letters are said to have contained an invitation to seats in the famous Westminster Assembly. The fact is, that the parliamentary ordinance calling that Assembly bears date June 12, 1643; and yet these letters were received in Boston in September, 1642. The invitation, signed by members of both houses of Parliament, and by some ministers, (which Hutchinson gives at full length,) makes no mention of any expected Synod or As-

For a while, the colonists here adhered steadfastly to their original plan, of supporting themselves in their exile, and building up their town, by commerce. They built some shipping. They purchased lands on the Delaware, and at some other places, and erected trading-houses to buy beaver of the natives. They sent their cargoes into foreign parts, and expected to make such gains as would support and extend their town, so beautifully planned. But soon it began to appear that their commercial enterprises, undertaken perhaps on too large a scale at first, and with too little knowledge of the particular nature of the business, were likely to be involved in disaster. Some of their number seem to have returned to England; while not a few, who had been expected to bring large accessions of wealth and strength, never came. Those that remained found their estates sinking so fast, that something must be done to retrieve their fortunes, or all their hopes would fail. Accordingly, about eight years after their arrival here, "they did, as it were, gather all their remaining strength to the building and loading out one ship for England, to try if any better success might befal them." The ship, whose name no record and no tradition has retained, seems to have been the property of an association. The "company of merchants in New Haven," consisting of Mr. Eaton, Mr. Gregson, Mr. Malbon, and Mr. Goodyear, appear to have united their resources in building, equipping and loading the vessel.* "Into this ship," says an ancient historian, "they put in a manner all their tradeable estates, much corn, and large quantities of plate;" and among the seventy that embark for the voyage, are several "of very precious account" in the colony. In the month of January, 1646, the harbor being frozen over, a passage is cut through the ice,

sembly. Such a synod as that afterwards convened at Westminster, was proposed as early as December, 1641; and it is not improbable that private letters, accompanying the formal invitation, urged these New England divines by the argument that a synod was likely to be called, and that if they were on that side of the ocean, they might have places in that body, and thus great influence in remodeling the Church of England.

* Colony Records.

with saws, for three miles; and "the great ship," on which so much depends, is out upon the waters, and ready to begin her voyage. Mr. Davenport and a great company of the people go out upon the ice, to give the last farewell to their friends. The pastor, in solemn prayer, commends them to the protection of God, and they depart. The winter passes away; the ice-bound harbor breaks into ripples before the soft breezes of the spring. Vessels from England arrive on the coast; but they bring no tidings of the New Haven ship. Vain is the solicitude of wives and children, of kindred and friends. Vain are all inquiries.

> "They ask the waves, and ask the felon winds,
> And question every gust of rugged wings
> That blows from off each beaked promontory."

Month after month, hope waits for tidings. Affection, unwilling to believe the worst, frames one conjecture and another to account for the delay. Perhaps they have been blown out of their track upon some undiscovered shore, from which they will by and by return, to surprise us with their safety:—perhaps they have been captured, and are now in confinement. How many prayers are offered for the return of that ship, with its priceless treasures of life and affection! At last, anxiety gradually settles down into despair. Gradually they learn to speak of the wise and public spirited Gregson, the brave and soldier-like Turner, the adventurous Lamberton, that "right godly woman" the wife of Mr. Goodyear, and the others, as friends whose faces are never more to be seen among the living. In November, 1647, their estates are settled, and they are put upon record as deceased. Yet they were not forgotten; but long afterwards, the unknown melancholy fate of those who sailed in Lamberton's ship, threw its gloomy shadow over many a fireside circle.*

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* Ten members of the Church were of the company in

> "That fatal and perfidious bark,
> Built in the eclipse, and rigg'd with curses dark."

"Divers manuscripts of some great men in the country, sent over for the service of the Church," were also "buried in the ocean." Among these

Two years and five months from the sailing of that ship, in an afternoon in June, after a thunder storm, not far from sunset, there appeared over the harbor of New Haven, the form of the keel of a ship with three masts, to which were suddenly added all the tackling and sails; and presently after, upon the highest part of the deck, a man standing with one hand leaning against his left side, and in his right hand a sword pointing towards the sea. The phenomenon continued about a quarter of an hour, and was seen by a crowd of wondering witnesses,—till at last, from the farther side of the ship, there arose a great smoke, which covered all the ship; and in that smoke she vanished away. Fifty years afterwards, while several of the witnesses of this strange appearance were yet alive, the story was great in the traditions of the colony; and it was reported by some of the survivors, that Mr. Davenport publicly declared "that God had condescended to give, for the quieting of their afflicted spirits, this extraordinary account of his disposal of those for whom so many prayers had been offered."*

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were Hooker's "Survey of the Sum of Church Discipline," and Davenport's "Power of Congregational Churches;" both of which were afterwards re-written by the authors.

* Hubbard (321) gives a full account of the building and sailing of Lamberton's ship, but says nothing of the famous atmospheric phenomenon which the traditions of New Haven colony connected with the loss of their great ship. Winthrop, whose history is like a newspaper of the times, mentions the sailing of the vessel (II, 254,) at the time, mentions also the loss, (266,) when the loss became certain, and afterwards repeats the whole story with corrections. He says, she was of "about 100 tons," "laden with pease and some wheat all in bulk, 200 West India hides and store of beaver and plate, so as it was estimated in all at 5000 pounds." There was a tempest not long after she sailed. According to Pierpont, she was "of about one hundred and fifty tons."

The account of the phantom-ship is given by Winthrop, (II, 328,) under the date of June 28, 1648. His story is the story as he heard it at Boston. Mather (Magn. I, 25) gives, in a letter from Mr. Pierpont, the story as it was reported at New Haven, half a century afterwards, by "the most sensible, judicious and curious surviving observers." The identity of the two accounts seems to me more striking than the comparatively slight diversities.

The mistake in Mr. Pierpont's letter respecting the year in which Lamberton's ship was lost, is rationally accounted for by Mr. Savage, in his note on the passage in Winthrop. I may add, however, that the records of the

In the year 1651, Mr. Davenport was invited to remove to Boston and become the pastor of a new Church there—the second Church in that town, which was organized the year before.* But his attachment to New Haven was too strong. He chose rather to remain in this little and unprosperous colony, where the entire constitution, ecclesiastical and civil, was conformed to his views of the mind of God, than to leave these interests for a settlement in a more prosperous community.

In the year 1657, the colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut united in calling a general Synod, to meet at Boston, for consultation on certain questions of ecclesiastical order, which had in some way grown out of a painful and protracted controversy in the Church at Hartford. A letter was sent to the General Court of this colony, requesting them to send some of the elders of their Churches to assist in the Synod. The questions proposed for the consideration of the Synod, were numerous, and some of them harmless enough. But the great questions to be resolved, were questions that struck directly at the purity and liberty of the Churches, and even at their existence as independent of the civil power; and they seem to have been got up by a party desirous of introducing that lax administration of church ordinances, which characterizes all countries where religion is secularized by the subjection of the Church to the state. At Mr. Davenport's advice, who saw that the object of the disaffected party was to unsettle those foundations which he regarded as all-important, the General Court of New Haven colony returned to the invitation from Massachusetts a courteous but decided negative.†

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town, might mislead a hasty reader as to the time when Lamberton and Gregson disappeared from the scene. But the probate records, as they contain a will made by one of the passengers when she was about to embark, confirm the date given by Winthrop.

Another great ship was built at New Haven in 1646, and some more diligent explorer *may* find that I have not distinguished between that and Lamberton's with sufficient accuracy. Lamberton's is said to have been built at Rhode Island. Magn. I, 25.

* Town Records. Ware, Hist. of Second Church in Boston, 5.

† Trumbull, I, 300. Colony Records.

During the same year, in compliance with a proposal from the commissioners of the united colonies, Mr. Davenport, together with Mr. Higginson, then minister of Guilford, and Mr. Pierson, then minister of Branford, were requested by the General Court for the jurisdiction, "to gather up the most remarkable passages of God's providence in these parts, which have been observable since their first beginnings, which may be a heap towards the compiling of a history of of the gracious providences of God to New England."* Whether any thing was done in consequence of this request does not appear. The record is interesting, as showing the carefulness of our ancestors to let nothing be lost, which might tend either to the glory of God, or to the instruction of their posterity.

In January, 1658, not quite twenty years after the beginning of the colony, all New England, but most of all, Mr. Davenport, was bereaved by the death of the excellent Theophilus Eaton. This good man had been wont to say, "Some count it a great matter to die well; but I am sure it is a greater matter to live well. All our care should be, while we have our life, to use it well; and so when death puts an end to that, it will put an end to all our cares." Having lived according to the spirit of this maxim, making it all his care to live well, "God would have him to die well," says the quaint historian, "without any room or time then given to care at all; for he enjoyed a death sudden to every one but himself." Having worshiped God with his family after his usual manner, and upon some occasion having charged all the family to be attentive to their mistress then confined by sickness, "he supped; and then took a turn or two abroad for his meditations." After that, he came in to bid his wife good night, before leaving her with those who were to watch with her. She said to him, "Methinks you look sad." He replied, "The differences arisen in the church of Hartford make me sad." She then, discontented as she long had been, said, "Let us even go back to our native country." To which, he answered, "You may, but I shall die here."

* Colony Records.

This was the last word she ever heard him speak. He retired to his chamber; and about midnight he was heard to groan; and to some one who instantly came in to inquire how he did, he answered only, "Very ill," and immediately fell asleep in Jesus.*

He died in the night between the 7th and 8th of January, and was buried on the 11th, as the record states with unwonted particularity, "about two in the afternoon."† His grave is just behind the pulpit window; where "the comely tomb, such as the colony was capable of," stood, till within a few years past, the memorial of his worth and of the people's gratitude. Many were the expressions of public veneration for that "man of singular wisdom, godliness, and experience," which found a place in the records of the town and of the colony.

That the grief of the people at his loss, and the honors paid to his memory, were not extravagant, appears from the account of his character given by the early historians of New England. And in these days of faction, when it is so extensively held that man's private and personal character has little or nothing to do with his qualifications for elevated stations in the commonwealth, it may be useful as well as refreshing, to dwell a little upon their delineation of the character of one of New England's primitive statesmen.

Hubbard, himself partly cotemporary with Governor Eaton, says of him, "After he saw the manner of the country, he soon gave over trading, and betook himself to husbandry, wherein, though he met with the inconveniences usual to others, which very much consumed his estate, yet he maintained a port in some measure answerable to his place; and although he was capable of, and had been much used in af-

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* Magnalia, II, 29.

† There is, however, an error in the record, which was probably copied by Trumbull, (see Kingsley, 77.) Gov. Eaton's death, as we begin the year, was in January, 1658. According to the old mode, beginning the year on the 25th of March, it was in January, 1657. This is the date on the tombstone; and it is confirmed by the records of the courts. But the record of deaths says, 1656. Perhaps the secretary's eye was blinded by a tear.

fairs of a far nobler and broader nature, as having with good advantage more than once stood before kings, yet did he apply himself to the mean and low things of New England, with that dexterity and humility as was much to see, and with so much constancy that no temptations or solicitations could prevail with him to leave his work and look back towards Europe again." "This man had in him great gifts, and as many excellencies as are usually found in any one man: he had an excellent princely face and port, commanding respect from all others: he was a good scholar, a traveler, a great reader, of an exceeding steady and even spirit, not easily moved to passion, and standing unshaken in his principles when once fixed upon, of a profound judgment, full of majesty and authority in his judicatures, so that it was a vain thing to offer to brave him out, and yet in his ordinary conversation, and among friends, of such pleasantness of behavior and such felicity and fecundity of harmless wit as can hardly be paralleled: but above all he was seasoned with religion, close in closet duties, solemn and substantial in family worship, a diligent and constant attender upon all public ordinances, taking notes of the sermons he heard exactly, and improving them accordingly; in short, approving himself in the whole course of his life, in faithfulness, wisdom, and inoffensiveness before God and man."*

In the same manner, but with some touches more particular and therefore more instructive, is the character of this good man described by Mather.

"As in his government of the commonwealth, so in the government of his family, he was prudent, serious, happy to a wonder; and albeit he sometimes had a large family, consisting of no less than thirty persons, yet he managed them with such an even temper, that observers have affirmed, they never saw a house ordered with more wisdom. He kept an honorable and hospitable table; but one thing that still made the entertainment thereof the better, was the continual pres-

* Hubbard, 329, 330.

ence of his aged mother, by feeding of whom with an exemplary piety till she died, he ensured his own prosperity as long as he lived. His children and servants he would mightily encourage unto the study of the Scriptures, and countenance their addresses unto himself with any of their inquiries; but when he discerned any of them sinfully negligent about the concerns either of their general or particular callings, he would admonish them with such a penetrating efficacy, that they could scarce forbear falling down at his feet with tears. A word of his was enough to steer them!

"So exemplary was he for a Christian, that one who had been a servant unto him, could many years after say, Whatever difficulty in my daily walk I now meet withal, still something that I either saw or heard in my blessed master Eaton's conversation, helps me through it all; I have reason to bless God that ever I knew him! It was his custom when he first rose in a morning, to repair unto his study; a study well perfumed with the meditations and supplications of a holy soul. After this, calling his family together, he would then read a portion of the scripture among them, and after some devout and useful reflections upon it, he would make a prayer not long, but extraordinarily pertinent and reverent; and in the evening some of the same exercises were again attended. On the Saturday morning he would still take notice of the approaching Sabbath in his prayer, and ask the grace to be remembering of it, and preparing for it; and when the evening arrived, he, besides this, not only repeated a sermon, but also instructed his people, with putting of questions referring to the points of religion, which would oblige them to study for an answer; and if their answer were at any time insufficient, he would wisely and gently enlighten their understanding; all which he concluded by singing a psalm. When the Lord's day came, he called his family together at the time for the ringing of the first bell, and repeated a sermon, whereunto he added a fervent prayer, especially tending unto the sanctification of the day. At noon he sang a psalm, and at night he retired an hour into his closet; advising those

in his house to improve the same time for the good of their own souls. He then called his family together again, and in an obliging manner conferred with them about the things with which they had been entertained in the house of God, shutting up all with a prayer for the blessing of God upon them all. For solemn days of humiliation, or of thanksgiving, he took the same course, and endeavored still to make those that belonged unto him, understand the meaning of the services before them. He seldom used any recreations, but being a great reader, all the time he could spare from company and business, he commonly spent in his beloved study."

"His eldest son he maintained at the College until he proceeded master of arts; and he was indeed the son of his vows, and the son of great hopes. But a severe catarrh diverted this young gentleman from the work of the ministry, whereto his father had once devoted him; and a malignant fever then raging in those parts of the country, carried off him with his wife within two or three days of one another.* This was counted the sorest of all the trials that ever befell his father in the days of the years of his pilgrimage; but he bore it with a patience and composure of spirit which was truly admirable. His dying son looked earnestly on him, and said, 'Sir, what shall we do?' Whereto, with a well-ordered countenance, he replied, 'Look up to God!' And when he passed by his daughter drowned in tears on this occasion, to her he said, 'Remember the sixth commandment, hurt not yourself with immoderate grief; remember Job, who said, The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord. You may mark what a note the Spirit of God put upon it; in all this Job sinned not, nor charged God foolishly: God accounts it a charging him foolishly, when we don't submit unto him patiently.' Accordingly he now governed himself as one that had attained unto the rule of weeping as if he wept not; for it being the Lord's day, he repaired unto the church in the

* See Kingsley, 76.

afternoon, as he had been there in the forenoon, though he was never like to see his dearest son alive any more in this world. And though before the first prayer began, a messenger came to prevent Mr. Davenport's praying for the sick person, who was now dead, yet his affectionate father altered not his course, but wrote after the preacher as formerly, and when he came home he held on his former methods of divine worship in his family, not for the excuse of Aaron, omitting any thing in the service of God. In like sort, when the people had been at the solemn interment of this his worthy son, he did with a very unpassionate aspect and carriage then say, 'Friends, I thank you all for your love and help, and for this testimony of respect unto me and mine: the Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken; blessed be the name of the Lord.' Nevertheless, retiring hereupon into the chamber where his daughter then lay sick, some tears were observed falling from him while he uttered these words, 'There is a difference between a sullen silence or a stupid senselessness under the hand of God, and a child-like submission thereunto.'

"Thus continually he, for a score of years, was the glory and pillar of New Haven colony."*

When the day arrived for the election of a new Governor, Mr. Davenport preached the election sermon from the first words in the book of Joshua, "Now after the death of Moses the servant of the Lord, it came to pass that the Lord spake to Joshua, the son of Nun, Moses's minister, saying, Moses, my servant is dead, now therefore arise, go over this Jordan, thou and all this people." The unanimous choice of the electors fell upon Francis Newman, who having been for many years Secretary of the colony, and one of the bench of Magistrates, had thus stood as a minister to their Moses, and had been trained, from his youth up, by the instruction, example, and intimate friendship of that eminent "servant of the Lord." His time however, in this office, was less than

* Magn. II, 27, 29. Some other particulars will be given in the Appendix, No. IX.

two years. At the court of Magistrates, October 17, 1660, the Governor was unable to take his seat; and the record was made, that "By reason of the afflicting hand of God on New Haven by much sickness, the Court could not pitch upon a day for public thanksgiving through the colony, for the mercies of the year past, and did therefore leave it to the elders of the church at New Haven, as God may be pleased to remove his hand from the Governor and others, to give notice to the rest of the plantations, what day they judge fit for that duty, that we may give thanks and rejoice before the Lord together." The Governor was soon so far recovered from that sickness, that the people "were comforted with his presence in the public assembly two Lord's days, and at one meeting of the Church on a week day." The day of public thanksgiving was appointed; and on that day also, "he found himself encouraged to come to the public assembly." But that day being very cold, and he insisting on being in his place at both services, the exposure was too great for him. On the morning of the next Lord's day, (Nov. 18, 1660,) when the second drum was beating, "his precious soul departed from the house of clay, to the souls of just men made perfect." His Pastor described him as "a true Nathanael, an Israelite indeed," and said of him, "He honored God in his private conversation and in his administration of chief magistracy in this colony, and God hath given him honor in the hearts of his people," "recompensing his faithfulness with his living desired and dying lamented."*

Mr. Davenport was now becoming an old man. Twenty two years had passed over him in this country. The men of his generation in the ministry, were fast disappearing. Hooker of Hartford, Cotton of Boston, Shepard of Cambridge, Bulkly of Concord, and others who had been with him the greater lights in the New England churches, were gone.

*Mather, Magn. II, 29. Colony Records. Davenport's Letters. From the Town Records, it appears that the town provided Gov. Newman with a house which he was to occupy while he continued to be Governor. The inventory of his estate amounted to only £430 2*s.* 7*d.*

Among those who, like him, had planted churches in this Colony, Prudden of Milford had deceased; Whitfield of Guilford had returned to England. Another generation of ministers, educated in America, to whom he was as one of the ancients, was beginning to occupy the scene of action. From this Church, his colleague in the ministry of the word, Hooke, and his helper in government, Robert Newman, had both returned to their native country; and though another good man, (the Rev. Nicholas Street,) was helping him in the pulpit, the office of ruling elder was still vacant, and has never since been filled. Nearly every one of those who had been originally the most distinguished and valued members of his flock, was gone; and the interests of the community were committed to other hands. Yet, though encompassed with discouragements, the shadows still lengthening upon his path as the sunset of life was approaching, he, like the great poet his cotemporary, would not

> "bate a jot
> Of heart or hope, but still bore up, and steered
> Right onward."

Even in his old age, he was found struggling with unwearied zeal to establish a college in New Haven, "for the good of posterity." It was in the year 1660, that he made his greatest efforts for this object. Then it was that, reinforced with the legacy of Governor Hopkins, he appeared before the General Court to lay by his solemn act the foundation of a college, and entreated them "not to suffer this gift to be lost from the colony, but, as it becometh fathers of the Commonwealth, to use all good endeavors to get it into their hands, and to assert their right in it for the common good; that posterity might reap the good fruit of their labors, and wisdom, and faithfulness; and that Jesus Christ might have the service and honor of such provision made for his people."

How admirable is that true nobleness of soul which studies and labors "for the good of posterity!" How beautiful in vigorous and ardent youth! How venerable in old age!

# DISCOURSE VII.

JOHN DAVENPORT IN HIS OLD AGE, THE PROTECTOR OF THE REGICIDES, THE OPPONENT OF UNION WITH CONNECTICUT, THE CHAMPION OF THE OLD WAY AGAINST THE SYNOD OF 1662.

ISAIAH, xvi, 3, 4.—Take counsel, execute judgment, make thy shadow as the night in the midst of the noonday; hide the outcasts, bewray not him that wandereth. Let mine outcasts dwell with thee; Moab, be thou a covert to them from the face of the spoiler.

EXAMINING the records of the town, we occasionally find Mr. Davenport taking an active part in town meetings. The manner in which his name is introduced, is sometimes such as implies that he did not ordinarily attend upon such assemblies. Yet whenever any thing was done or proposed respecting schools for the town, or the setting up of a college, we are sure to find that he was present, and had something to say in the way of urging forward the cause of education. So when any subject was introduced which had an immediate connection with the interests of religion and of religious institutions, we frequently find him engaged in the discussion. One instance of this may be here introduced, as illustrating his principles and character.

At a town meeting,—or as it was called in those days, a general court for the town,—on the 28th of February, 1659, a request was made by the farmers of what is now East Haven and North Haven, for certain grants of lands and privileges in order to the establishment of villages, so that they maintaining public worship and other town expenses by themselves, should not be taxed for such expenses here, and should have the power of taxing all the lands within their limits whether belonging to themselves or to non-residents. Their application was of course resisted on the ground that this setting off of new parishes would increase the town's taxes, and would diminish the ability of the people to sup-

port the ministry here. It was obvious that the inhabitants on this side of the river had an immediate pecuniary interest against the petition. The petitioners seem to have thought—reasonably enough—that by having such privileges and forming distinct parishes, each with a village at its center, they would not only be relieved from the very serious inconvenience of coming into town every Lord's day, and every training day or town meeting day; but would be able to give more value to their lands, and to get a more competent subsistence. They seem to have considered themselves as reduced to the necessity either to give up their scattered residences on the farms, and to come into the town and live as they might, or else to form themselves into separate villages according to their proposal. The proposal seems to have been something like an effort on the part of a body of men of inferior condition, to obtain such a change as would put them more completely on a level with the merchants and capitalists in the town. One of the farmers said, "it was well known that at the first they were many of them looked upon as mean men to live by their labor; therefore they had at first small lots given them; but they finding by experience that they could not in that way maintain their families, they were put upon looking out." He further argued "that, when the town gave them these lots, it was upon condition they should inhabit upon them;" and that having in compliance with that condition invested their property there in buildings and improvements, they had a right to such additional privileges as were necessary to their comfortable subsistence.

On this occasion, Mr. Davenport took the lead in the discussion. He addressed the meeting immediately after the proposal had been stated; and in opposition to what most would regard as the town's pecuniary interest in the case, in opposition to the feeling, how shall the support of the ministry here be secured, and in opposition to the natural reluctance with which towns as well as individuals give up any particle of power, he argued strenuously for the extension of these privileges to the farmers. His arguments are so characteris-

tic, not only of his piety, but of his good sense and of his political wisdom, that they are worth repeating at length, as we find them on the records.

"The business they were exercised about, being of great weight both for the honor of God and the good of posterity, he therefore desired that it might be weightily considered.

"If we look to God, it is that his kingdom may come and be set up among us, and that his will may be done. Now if we provide not for the sanctification of the Sabbath, the will of God will not be done. The law, he said, was expressed Levit. xxiii, 3, 'Six days shall work be done, but the seventh day is the Sabbath of rest, a holy convocation, ye shall do no work therein, it is the Sabbath of the Lord in all your dwellings." This law was not proper to the land of Canaan, but a brief repetition of the fourth commandment, which requires that we should sanctify the Sabbath as a day of holy rest. Now in this way of farms at such a distance, it cannot be kept as a holy convocation, and as a day of holy rest in all our dwellings. Therefore we shall live in the breach of the fourth commandment in this way.

"Besides, there are other things to be attended (as they ought to be) in a well ordered commonwealth; particularly, to use all due means to prevent sin in others, which cannot be done in this way; for many great abominations may be committed, and bring the wrath of God on the plantation; like the secret fact of Achan,—for which, wrath came upon the whole congregation of Israel, because they used not what means they might to prevent it; therefore could they not prosper when they went against the men of Ai. Therefore, would we prosper, let us prevent sin what we can in the farms. If they were brought into a village form, there might be some officer to look to civil order. But that being not done, he saw not but that we are in continued danger of the wrath of God, because we do not what we may for the prevention of disorders that may fall out there.

"And besides this, we are to look to the good of posterity. Now it is a sad object to consider, how they are deprived of

the means for the education of their children. But if they were reduced to villages, they might then have one to teach their children.

"Mr. Davenport farther said, Let there be no divisions or contentions among you. But let every one, with some self-denial, set himself to further the work so as may be for the good both of the town and the farms. He said he sought not the destruction of the town or farms. But in his judgment, he thought, if the town fall into a way of trade, then the villages might be helpful to the town, and the town to the villages. And if the town did not consider of some way to further trade [that is, not only buying and selling, but the production of commodities to be bought and sold,] how they would subsist he saw not. He further said, he did like it well that there had been some consultations about a mill,"—which—"if God prosper it, may be a furtherance of trade. And if it please God to bless the iron work, that may be also a foundation for trade. Now put all these together;—the town falling into a way of trade will be in a better state, and the villages accommodated; and the honor of God in the sanctification of the Sabbath and the upholding of civil order will be provided for.

"Mr. Davenport farther said, that he looked upon it as a merciful hand of God that his wrath hath not broke out against us more than it hath, when sin hath not been prevented at the farms as it might have been. Let us now, said he, set our thoughts a-work how the kingdom of Christ may be settled among us, and that the will of God may be done in the sanctification of the Sabbath, by reducing the farms into villages. But herein we must go above sense and reason. Lay this foundation, Doth God require it? If he doth, then here we must exercise faith; as the Jews,—how they should be supplied, being God had commanded that every seventh year their land should rest,—and for safety, when at the commandment of God all their males must thrice in the year appear before the Lord at Jerusalem. Yet we must make use of reason and understanding that it may be done in

such a way as may be for the good both of the town and of the farms. And the Lord guide you in it."

By this argument of Mr. Davenport's, the subject was introduced, and the discussion opened. All the veneration with which the people regarded their pastor did not prevent the free expression of objections. Among others, Sergeant Jefferies, while he professed himself "marvellous willing the villages should go on," thought it was "to be considered whether villages will not wrong the town much," and suggested, furthermore, "that the ministry of the colony was much unsettled,* which is a great discouragement to such a work." To which Mr. Davenport answered, that Christ holds the stars in his right hand, and disposes of them as seems good to him. But this we must know, that if we obey not the voice of the prophets, God will take away the prophets. He further said, If we build God's house, God will build our house. He exhorted to consider whether it be our duty or not, and said that unless we look upon it as a duty, he would never advise to go about villages, nor any thing else of that nature."

All this, I say, shows us the character of the first pastor here, and the sort of influence which he exerted in the community. His great concern was that Christ's kingdom might be set up here, that God's will might be done, and that to this all the arrangements of the commonwealth might tend. Sin, which when not duly restrained, brings God's wrath upon communities as upon individuals, was that which of all things he most feared. To him the good of posterity as dependent on education, was the greatest of public interests. The thought that any of the people were deprived of means for the education of their children, affected him with sadness. His influence made men feel that the surest way to prosper, was to be ever doing God's work, and to have all our interests identified with the prosperity of the kingdom of God.

* This was in Feb., 1659. The Church in Milford was then vacant by the death of Mr. Prudden, in 1656. Mr. Higginson left Guilford in 1659.

Yet his piety was not inconsistent with the most sagacious policy. Even when he would have men "go above sense and reason," and "exercise faith," he would nevertheless have them "make use of reason and understanding" to ascertain and promote the public welfare. His comprehensive mind, which his piety enlarged instead of contracting, formed in itself the idea which we now behold set forth in the happy reality; a manufacturing and commercial town here; rural municipalities filling the country around; and town and country each free from subjection to the other, yet mutually dependent, and ministering to each other's prosperity.

To the stranger passing through New England, and becoming acquainted with the peculiarities of our social condition and of our civil polity, nothing is more striking, or more admirable, than the continual succession of villages, each with its neat white spire, its school houses, its clusters of comfortable dwellings, its own municipal rights and regulations, and each vieing with its neighbor villages in order, thrift, and beauty. In other parts of the country, where, New England influence not having predominated at the beginning, the forms of society are not molded after ours, you see a succession of broad farms, with many a pleasing indication of prosperous industry; but the villages are only at the "county seat," or where the exigencies of business create them. New England is a land of villages, not of manufacturing villages merely, or trading villages, but of villages formed for society, villages in each of which the meeting house is the acropolis. The reasons of this peculiarity appear from that argument of Mr. Davenport's which I have just recited. These villages were created—not as many have supposed for defense alone, else why did not the same reason cause villages in Pennsylvania and Virginia—but first that the worship of God might be maintained, and his Sabbaths be duly honored; secondly, that the people might have schools for all their children; thirdly, that they might maintain among themselves the most efficient civil order; and fourthly, that instead of living, each planter in solitary independence, they

might live in mutual dependence and mutual helpfulness, and might thus develop more rapidly and effectually the natural resources of the country.

In the year 1660, when monarchy was restored in England, many who had acted prominently in the revolution which had thus suddenly gone backward, were obliged to flee for their lives. Some fled to different countries on the continent of Europe; some sought a retreat in the obscurity of the American settlements; and some, not making their escape betimes, died by the tortures and hideous mutilations which the barbarity of the English law inflicted upon those whom it condemned as traitors. Among those who came to New England, were three of the men who acted as judges in the trial of King Charles I, and who feared not to sign the death-warrant of a king found guilty of treason against his people. Two of these, Edward Whalley and William Goffe, who, in consequence of the rank they had held in the armies of the Parliament, and in the commonwealth of England, were especially obnoxious to the restored king and to his triumphant partisans, arrived at Boston on the 27th of July, 1660, in the same ship which brought the first news of the king's restoration.

Whalley was closely connected with Cromwell by kindred, as well as by the tie of a common political interest. He was the colonel of that regiment of cavalry in the Parliament's army, in which Richard Baxter was chaplain; and between him and the author of the Saint's Rest, there was an intimate friendship, not only while Baxter continued in the army, but afterwards when Whalley had become, under the protectorate of his cousin Cromwell, one of the chief officers of the empire. To him, in token of their continued friendship, Baxter dedicated one of his works, in an epistle which is among the most beautiful examples of that kind of composition. Alluding to the honors which then clustered upon the head of the veteran warrior, he said, "Think not that your greatest trials are now over. Prosperity hath its peculiar temptations by which it hath foiled many that stood

unshaken in the storms of adversity. The tempter who hath had you on the waves, will now assault you in the calm, and hath his last game to play on the mountain till nature cause you to descend. Stand this charge, and you win the day."* How beautiful the prediction, but how short sighted!

Goffe was the son-in-law of Whalley, and like him, having distinguished himself in the army, in which he rose to the rank of Major General, he became a member of Cromwell's House of Lords, and was one of the principal supporters of the Cromwell dynasty. So eminent was he, that it was thought by some that he might in time become the head of the empire.

When these men arrived in Boston with the news of the king's restoration, they were at first received with undisguised attention by the Governor of that Colony, and the principal inhabitants. For some time they resided openly at Cambridge, where they attended public worship, and were active in private religious meetings, and were received to occasional communion in the church by virtue of letters which they brought from the churches in England, with which they had been previously connected. As they became personally known, they were greatly respected for their piety, as well as for their talents and intelligence. It was hoped that in so distant a part of the world as this, they would escape the notice of their enemies; and the first rumors that followed them from England, gave some confirmation to the hope. But in November the act of indemnity arrived, which secured all, with certain exceptions, against being called in question for any thing which they had done against the government since the beginning of the civil wars; and it appeared that these two men, with many others, were excepted from the general pardon. Still, however, compassion and friendship prevented the government of Massachusetts from taking any measures to arrest them. On the 22d of February, 1661, the governor called his council together, to consult about seizing them; but the council, not having yet

* Baxter's Practical Works, (Orme's ed.) I, 453.

received any special order on that subject, refused to do any thing. Four days after this, the two regicide judges, foreseeing that a warrant, or order for their arrest, must soon arrive from England, and that Gov. Endicott and their other friends there would in that case be unable to protect them, left Cambridge, and passing through Hartford, where they were hospitably received by Gov. Winthrop, arrived at New Haven on the 7th of March. Almost immediately after their leaving Cambridge, and before they had reached this place, the king's proclamation, denouncing them as convicted traitors, was received at Boston; and thereupon a warrant was issued by the government there, and a search was made at Springfield and other places, where they were sure not to find them.

Here the people were prepared to receive them and to stand by them. Mr. Davenport in a long series of sermons from the words of the prophet in Lam. iii, 24, "The Lord is my portion, saith my soul, therefore will I hope in him,"—had been inculcating on his flock the duty and the safety of confidence in God; and having considered that hope in various relations, had dwelt particularly on its operation in establishing and strengthening the heart against all discouraging, distrustful fears "of evil times, when all things are turned upside down, and the mountains, princes and great potentates, render themselves terrible to the Church and people of God, and the profane multitude rage against them like the roaring of the waters, and they can have no rest in their dwellings." Under this topic, he had exhibited the discouraging aspect of the protestant cause, the cause of truth and religion and liberty, as it then was in various parts of Europe, touching cautiously but significantly upon the state of affairs in their native country, from which tidings more and more painful were daily to be expected.

He had proceeded to teach them more particularly what disposition of spirit was necessary to qualify them for the exercise of confidence in God amid such fears, and how, by what acts and efforts, their hope in God was to manifest itself

in those days of deep depression. "Whosoever," said he, "would have and exercise this hope in reference to the public state of the afflicted churches of Christ; they must have and exercise public spirits in the communion of saints"—"must take to heart the public state of the churches and Christ's interest in them, whatever their own private condition is; and must prefer the public concernments before and above their own private, in their judgments, affections, and endeavors." "The saints of old," said he, "could not be satisfied with their own private welfare, if the church of of God was in affliction and danger, or under reproach." "When there hath been a double affliction upon them, both public and private, the public hath swallowed up the private, and made it inconsiderable in comparison." "When they have had a double opportunity of doing or procuring good, to the public, and to their own private, they have preferred the public advantage to their own private interest." How do their examples, said he, "shame most Christians in these days, who, if their garners may be full, their sheep multiply, their oxen be strong to labor, their sons be as plants grown up, and their daughters polished and set forth with ornaments, and there be no complaining in the streets, think themselves happy, and regard not what becomes of religion, and of Christ's cause and interest in the churches; they take not to heart the afflictions of God's people, if their trading increase; one good bargain will more comfort them than all the calamities of the church can grieve them; they can hear and speak of the breaches and ruins of Zion,' as the Athenians did of news, without remorse or regard. Brethren, it is a weighty matter to read letters and receive intelligence in them concerning the state of the Churches. You had need to lift up your hearts to God, when you are about to read your letters from our native country, to give you wisdom, and hearts duly affected, that you may receive such intelligences as you ought; for God looks upon every man, in such cases, with a jealous eye, observing with what workings of bowels they read or speak of the concernments of his Church." "Christ,"

he said, "will look on them as his enemies that disown his cause and people at such times, as he saith, He that is not with me is against me. Are the people and ways of God under reproach? Christ is reproached in them and with them. Ah! but they are called fools and fanatics! I answer, When was it otherwise?"

Having shown how godliness had been hated and scoffed at in other ages, he went on to say, "The present temptation of this time, in the other afflictions of the Churches, is the reproachful titles put upon the people of God, whom profane men call fanatics. But if he is a fool that will be laughed out of his right, much more is he a fool and a mad man that will suffer himself to be laughed out of heaven, that will hazard the loss of his soul, and salvation, to free himself from the mocks and scoffs of a profane and sinful world. If Christ had not for our sakes endured the cross, despising the shame, we could never have been redeemed and saved; 'let us go forth therefore to him, without the camp, bearing his reproach.' The Christian Hebrews are exhorted to call to remembrance the former days in which, after they were illuminated, they endured a great fight of afflictions, partly whilst they were made a gazing stock both by reproaches and afflictions, and partly whilst they became companions of them that were so used. (Heb. x, 32, 33.) Let us do likewise, and own the reproached and persecuted people and cause of Christ in suffering times."

Kindling as he proceeded, he left his hearers no room to misunderstand him. He came out boldly with what might have passed in England for treason. "Withhold not countenance, entertainment, and protection, from such, if they come to us from other countries, as from France or England or any other place. Be not forgetful to entertain strangers, for thereby some have entertained angels unawares. Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them, and them who suffer adversity as being yourselves also in the body. (Heb. xiii, 2, 3.) The Lord required this of Moab, saying, 'Make thy shadow as the night in the midst of the

noon-day ;'—that is, provide safe and comfortable shelter and refreshment for my people in the heat of persecution and opposition raised against them ;—'hide the outcasts, bewray not him that wandereth : let mine outcasts dwell with thee, Moab ; be thou a covert to them from the face of the spoiler.' (Isaiah xvi, 3, 4.) Is it objected, But so I may expose myself to be spoiled or troubled ? He, therefore, to remove this objection, addeth, 'For the danger is at an end, the spoiler ceaseth ; the treaders down are consumed out of the land.' While we are attending to our duty in owning and harboring Christ's witnesses, God will be providing for their and our safety, by destroying those that would destroy his people."

This was certainly intelligible. But he went on to arm their minds still more for the expected crisis. "Two helps I shall propound to arm you against those fears of reproach, or dangers, whereby men are apt to be drawn to flinch from the cause and witnesses of Christ in suffering times. First, strengthen your faith. A sight of the invisible God, and an eye to the recompense of reward, so quickened and strengthened the faith of Moses, that 'he chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season ; esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt.' (Heb. xi, 25, 26.)" Secondly, "Exalt God as the highest object of your fear. Fear God as he ought to be feared—fear him above all. The greater fear will expel the lesser. Therefore the Lord prescribes this fearing him aright, as the best remedy against all carnal fears, whereby men are wont to be hindered from obeying God in those duties that will expose men to hurt from the creature. (Isa. viii, 12, 13. li, 7, 8, 12, 13. So doth Christ in Mat. x, 28.) The balking of any duty which God commandeth, is the ready way to bring upon you, by the wrath of God, that very evil which you fear that the doing of your duty will expose you to by the wrath of men."*

* Saints' Anchor-Hold, 178—201. There can be no doubt that this is the original and the truth of the tradition recorded by Stiles, (History of Judges,

By such appeals and arguments were the people of New Haven prepared to receive the regicides with kindness, and to protect them in the face of the king's displeasure. The regicides themselves had special reasons to expect the most friendly treatment here. The sister of Gen. Whalley, Mrs. Hooke, had long resided here, her husband being for twelve years Mr. Davenport's colleague here in the work of the ministry. Mr. William Jones, whose father within a few weeks after their departure from England, had suffered death for the same act for which they were thus hunted through the wilderness, and who having married in London the youngest daughter of the late Gov. Eaton, had recently come to this country, was here, and ready to show them all kindness for his father's sake.*

At first "the Colonels," as they were commonly called, showed themselves here openly as they had done at Boston; so that their persons, their danger, and the part they had acted, were well known to the whole community. It was reported, that on a training day they said expressly, in the presence of the whole military company, that if they could have but two hundred men to follow them, they would not fear to stand against all their enemies in Old England, and in New. But after some twenty days, the news of the king's proclamation against them having arrived, they were

32,) that "about the time the pursuers came to New Haven, and perhaps a little before, and to prepare the minds of the people for their reception, the Reverend Mr. Davenport preached publicly from this text,—Isa. xvi, 3, 4. *Take counsel, execute judgment, make thy shadow as the night*," &c. The Saints' Anchor-Hold is declared in the title page to have been "preached in sundry sermons." Dr. Stiles appears not to have seen the book; nor do I find any allusion to it by others who have touched upon the history of the regicide Judges. The book was printed at London, in 1661, with a preface by William Hooke and Joseph Caryl. It contains 231 pages, small duodecimo. The only copy which I have heard of belongs to one of the descendants of the author, Mrs. Whelpley, and is mutilated with the loss of here and there a leaf. If it were perfect, a new edition should be published.

* Kingsley, 76. The tradition that Mr. Jones came over in the same ship with the regicides, is, I suspect, unwarranted. Dr. Stiles says he "came over in the fall of 1660." (Stiles, 69.) His name first appears on the town records, Feb. 25, 1661.

under the necessity of concealing themselves. To do this more effectually, they went as far as Milford, and took pains to be seen there, as if they were proceeding towards the Dutch settlement at Manhadoes; but immediately returned to this place under cover of the night, and were received by Mr. Davenport, in whose house they were hid for more than a month, when they removed across the street to Gov. Eaton's house, then occupied by Mr. Jones.

Near the last of April, an express mandate from the king, was received by the Governor of Massachusetts, requiring him to cause the traitors Whalley and Goffe, to be seized. The whole country was alarmed; and Massachusetts, feeling that she had much to account for in the matter, and that her all was in jeopardy, seems now to have been in earnest to apprehend them, and to make peace by giving them up as victims. Accordingly, the Governor and council at Boston, gave a commission to two zealous young royalists just from England, to go through the colonies, as far as Manhadoes, in pursuit of them.

On the 11th of May, these pursuers, Thomas Kellond and Thomas Kirk, arrived at the house of Deputy Governor Leete in Guilford, who was then acting as chief magistrate of the jurisdiction, in consequence of the death of Gov. Newman a few months before. Gov. Leete read their letters, and the copy which they brought of the king's mandate, but showed no great alacrity in promoting their object. He assured them that he had not seen the men in several weeks, and that they were probably gone out of the jurisdiction. The next day was the Sabbath;* and by one hindrance and another, the pursuers were detained at Guilford till the morning of the 13th, when, at the break of day, they started for New Haven, with a letter from Gov. Leete to Mr. Gilbert, the magistrate of this place, advising him to call the town court

* This is a circumstance not mentioned by any of the authorities, but ascertained by calculation. "The king's business required haste," yet the pursuers, while under Gov. Leete's jurisdiction, must rest on the Sabbath day, "according to the commandment."

together, and by their advice and concurrence to cause a search to be made. Early as they started, it appears that some one else left Guilford before them, in the night, and arrived here in time to give information that they were coming. They found the magistrate not at home; but on the arrival of the Governor himself some two hours after them, with the magistrate of Branford, whom he had brought with him, on the principle that in many counsellors there is safety, a long consultation was held in the court room. The pursuers insisted that the regicides were hid in some of the houses in this town, and that all their information pointed particularly to the houses of Mr. Davenport and Mr. Jones; and they demanded of the Governor a warrant to search for them. The Governor and magistrates, on the other hand, maintained that "the Colonels" had gone towards Manhadoes; and in truth, whatever suspicions and fears they might have, they knew nothing of their concealment. As for the warrant which was demanded, they had constitutional and legal scruples; for Gov. Leete was educated a lawyer. The Governor told the two pursuers, that he could not and would not make them magistrates of this jurisdiction, as he should do if he were to invest them with power to enter men's houses and search for criminals. Besides, the king's mandate which they brought with them, appeared to be addressed to the Governor of Massachusetts as if he were Governor of all New England, and to others only as subordinate to him; and the magistrates feared that by acting under such a mandate they might acknowledge a governor-general, and might thus be guilty of betraying the trust committed to them, under oath, by the people, from whom alone they derived their power. When the pursuers asked the magistrates whether they would honor and obey the king in this affair, the Governor replied, "We honor his Majesty, but we have tender consciences." When they urged again the same consideration, and demanded to know whether they would own his Majesty or not, the answer was given, that they would first know whether his Majesty would own them. So in the

end, after much consideration and delay, "the case being weighty," "it was resolved to call the general court for the effectual carrying on of the work." Meanwhile the gentlemen from England were urged not to retard their own business by waiting on the proceedings of the authorities of the jurisdiction;—a suggestion which implied that if they had a commission from the king which gave them the power of searching, they might proceed to execute it at their own risk; and that if their commission was not sufficient for such purpose, they had better go where their commission carried them.

The pursuers accordingly made such search as they dared to make in the circumstances; they obtained full proof that the regicides had been seen at Mr. Davenport's; they offered great reward to Indians and Englishmen for such information and aid as should enable them to accomplish their object; they threatened Mr. Davenport with the well known penalties of the law for concealing and comforting traitors; but they were unsuccessful; and after a day or two they went on towards the Hudson river, and thence returned by water to Boston. On the 17th of May, which was only two or three days after their departure, the general court assembled; and after expressing many "wishes that a search had been sooner made," gave order "that the magistrates take care and send forth the warrant, that a speedy, diligent search be made throughout the jurisdiction," and "that from the several plantations a return be made that it may be recorded." The order was carried into effect; a search was made throughout the colony, but the fugitives were not found.

Meanwhile the hunted men were at various places in the immediate vicinity of New Haven. On the day on which the pursuers arrived at Guilford, (May 11,) they left their concealment at the house of Mr. Jones, and found refuge during the Sabbath in the mill near West Rock;* thence on the 13th, the day on which the pursuers came to New Haven,

* The site of that mill is now occupied by the Manufactory of Blake & Brothers.

they went into the woods, and were conducted by some trusty friends to a hiding place now included within the bounds of Woodbridge, which afforded them lodgings for two nights. On the 15th of May they removed to the cave on the side of West Rock, which was their residence till the 11th of June, while the whole colony was searched to find them. They were informed of all that was doing; they stood ready to surrender themselves rather than that any body should suffer on their account; and at last, knowing Mr. Davenport's danger, they left their refuge and came into town to deliver themselves up to the authorities here. They ventured to be seen here so publicly, as to clear Mr. Davenport from the suspicion of still concealing them. They caused information to be conveyed in some way to Gov. Leete, that they were ready to surrender if it was necessary, but he did nothing towards commencing such a treaty; and the next day they were informed by some of their friends, that there was no occasion for so desperate a measure. After this, they retired again to their cave, and continued there and in similar places till the 19th of August, when, it being generally supposed that they had made their escape to parts unknown, they came into the center of Milford, and obtained a lodging place in a house there, in which they continued in the most perfect seclusion for several years. In October, 1664, they removed to Hadley, in Massachusetts, where the minister of the place, Mr. Russell, had made arrangements to receive them; and under his roof they rested for the remainder of their days.

I have repeated these details, because they illustrate the character generally of the first colonists of New Haven, and especially because they show in so striking a light the character of Mr. Davenport. I know not what incident in history exhibits a more admirable combination of cŏurage and adroitness, of fidelity to friendship, of magnanimity in distress, and of the fearless yet discreet assertion of great principles of liberty, than can be found in this simple story of the protection of the regicides by the men of New Haven. And what gives

to all the rest a higher dignity, is the fact that the courage which feared not the wrath of the king, was not fool-hardiness or passion, but faith in God who bade them hide the outcasts, and be a covert to them from the face of the spoiler. The rude munition of rocks that sheltered the fugitives when they were chased into dens and caves of the earth, is a monument more eloquent than arch or obelisk. Till the mountains shall melt, let it bear the inscription, "Opposition to tyrants is obedience to God."*

In the year 1662, the people of Connecticut obtained from King Charles II, by the agency of their Governor Winthrop, a charter with the amplest privileges, which was designed to comprehend that colony and New Haven under one jurisdiction. In the negotiations which followed, Mr. Davenport, contrary to his ordinary practice, took a leading part. He was strongly and conscientiously opposed to the union with Connecticut. He believed that the constitution of the civil state here, was more according to the mind of God, and better adapted to the great ends of government than any other in the world; and he thought that the constitution provided by the Connecticut charter contained no sufficient safeguard for the liberty and purity of the churches. Fearing such an arrangement, he had obtained from Gov. Winthrop before he sailed to procure the charter, a promise that New Haven should not be included contrary to the wishes of its people. The Connecticut people, however, immediately on receiving the charter which Gov. Winthrop sent them, took measures, some of them altogether unjustifiable, to bring the New Haven colony under their jurisdiction. New Haven entered into the conflict under serious disadvantages; for even before

* The story of the regicide judges is given by Hutchinson, (I, 213,) with documents, (III, 334, 338, 344, 432.) Stiles has added the records and traditions of New Haven. His authorities are worth more than his reasonings. Some other documents are found in III Mass. Hist. Coll. vii, 123. Whenever the life of Gov. Leete shall be written, a letter from John Norton to Richard Baxter should be consulted, in Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, Part II, 292.

The inscription cited above, was placed upon the "Judges' cave," by a modern hand.

the coming over of the charter, there existed in this colony, and particularly in the remote towns, a party violent in opposition to the government here established.

The first distinct intimation of the approaching crisis, was in May, 1662, when the legislature, "not knowing what important affairs may happen respecting this colony between the session of this and the next general court," voted that if any thing extraordinary should arise, "the Governor being immediately informed thereof, should repair to New Haven, and there consult and advise with the magistrates and elders of that place and of Branford what is fit and safe to be done in such an exigency," calling in if necessary the magistrates of Milford, or of any other town. The Governor, with the magistrates thus convened, were empowered to act according to the exigency, "upon the concurrent advice of two or more of the elders," provided they "proceed not to treat or conclude any thing that may have tendency to change of the present government, without a General Court be first called."

Before the session of the Court of Magistrates in the October following, the expected charter of Connecticut had arrived; and when the Court, according to usage, appointed the 23d of the month as a day of public thanksgiving for the mercies of the year, it was also ordered "that the 29th of this month be kept as a day of extraordinary seeking of God by fasting and prayer for his guidance of the colony in this weighty business about joining with Connecticut colony, and for the afflicted state of the Church and people of God in our native country and in other parts of the world."

Two days after that day of fasting, the records of the town show us a meeting of the freemen at which a copy of the charter was exhibited, together with a writing from some gentlemen of Connecticut, signifying that they looked upon New Haven as being within their bounds. Mr. Davenport, and his colleague Mr. Street, were both present. Mr. Davenport appears to have addressed the meeting at great length. He stated some important facts, illustrating the haste, unkind-

ness, and arrogance, with which their brethren of the other colony had proceeded in the matter. He showed what pledges he had received from Mr. Winthrop, that so unrighteous an act should not be attempted. He went into an argument to prove, first, that New Haven was not of course included under the charter, and secondly, that New Haven ought not voluntarily to enter into such a union; and he concluded by giving directions as to the answer that should be returned to the men of Connecticut, "that they may see their evil in what they have done, and restore us to our former state, that so we and they may live together in unity and amity for the future." Mr. Street followed in the debate; he declared that he looked upon Mr. Davenport's arguments as unanswerable; he thought "that both Church and town had cause to bless God for the wisdom held forth in them;" he exhorted the freemen "to keep the ends and rules of Christ in their eye, and then God would stand by them;" and he concluded by seconding Mr. Davenport's directions respecting an answer, "with one scripture out of Isaiah xiv, 32, [What shall one then answer the messengers of the nation?—that the Lord hath founded Zion, and the poor of his people shall trust in it;] and from thence did advise that the answer should be of faith and not of fear." The decision of the meeting, after a full debate, was in accordance with the advice thus given.

Four days afterwards, the freemen of the whole colony were convened at New Haven, not by delegation, but in full assembly. To that convention, Gov. Leete submitted the communication which had been received from Connecticut, and the brief reply which had been made by the committee appointed by the last General Court. These writings having been read, together with the copy of the charter, the Governor called the attention of the meeting to the two distinct points which the communication from Connecticut presented for their consideration, namely, the claim that the charter necessarily included them and that they were therefore bound to submit, and the invitation to a voluntary and peaceful union. After this, that the people might have time

for consideration, the assembly was dismissed for an hour and a half, "then to meet again at the beat of the drum." When the meeting was again opened, Mr. Davenport was called upon by the Governor to express his views. Mr. Davenport "said that, according to this occasion, he should discharge the duty of his place," and proposed to "read to them his own thoughts, which he had set down in writing, and which he desired might remain his own till they [the freemen of the colony,] should be fully satisfied in them;" for he would leave others to walk according to the light which God should give them in this business." Accordingly he read some reasons why the people of Connecticut ought not to construe their charter as including New Haven colony, and why New Haven might not voluntarily join with Connecticut,—and then retired, leaving his written thoughts for the consideration of the assembly. The Governor carefully abstained from giving any opinion; but urged the freemen to speak their minds, that the substance of the answer might proceed from them. After the matter had been "largely debated," the substance of the answer was agreed upon; and it was determined that the points of the reply should be, first, a "due witness-bearing against the sin" of Connecticut in invading their independence; next, a demand that till Mr. Winthrop should return, or till they should otherwise obtain satisfaction, the whole matter should be deferred, and the jurisdiction of New Haven be permitted to proceed without interruption; and thirdly, a resolution to do nothing without taking advice from the other confederated colonies. A committee including all the magistrates and elders was appointed to prepare such an answer, and to forward it to the authorities of Connecticut. The "answer of the freemen, drawn up into form by the committee,"* bears strong marks of the workmanship of Mr. Davenport.

The correspondence thus begun between the two colonies was continued through several years, while Connecticut was

* The reader will find it in Trumbull, I, 515.

gaining strength by steady encroachment, and New Haven, at first the weaker party, was gradually weakened by defections, and by the increasing burthens which the controversy occasioned. The great body of the people here loved their independence and their own peculiar polity. The ends for which, said they, "we left our dear native country, and were willing to undergo the difficulties which we have since met with in this wilderness, yet fresh in our remembrance," were "to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the gospel in purity with peace;" and these are "the only ends we still pursue, having hitherto found by experience so much of the presence of God with us, and of his goodness and compassion towards us in so doing, for these many years." To these ends their peculiar institutions seemed in their judgment best adapted. To them their little republic seemed as near a perfect model of a Christian commonwealth, as could be in this world of imperfection. Cato in his "little senate" at Utica, standing against the power of Cæsar, for the ancient constitution of his country, was actuated by no sentiment higher or more admirable than that which actuated them. In all the negotiations of that crisis the influence of Mr. Davenport is conspicuous. The numerous letters and remonstrances in which the claims of New Haven were argued, bear the stamp of his mind. Their clearness in the statement of the case, their cogency in the argument, their dignity of manner, with slight occasional manifestations of sarcastic humor, and the simple piety that breathes so naturally through them all, indicate him as the author.*

It was not till January 5th, 1665, that this controversy was concluded by the unanimous submission of New Haven to the claims of Connecticut. This result was brought about

* These papers were published by Trumbull, with only one exception. The one which Trumbull did not publish will be found (what remains of it) in the Appendix, No. X. The venerable historian has given the story of the extinction of the New Haven colony with much accuracy and particularity. Trumb. I, ch. 12.

by a new danger, which was beginning to threaten the common interests of New England. The king had undertaken to erect provinces in New England for his brother, the Duke of York, and had given him, besides other territories, Long Island, and all the land from the west side of Connecticut river to the east side of Delaware Bay. A naval and military force was sent over to subdue the Dutch settlements; and with that force came four commissioners, one of them a papist, and another an old and bitter enemy of New England, clothed with extraordinary powers, to visit the several colonies, to hear and determine all matters of complaint and controversy among them, and to settle the country in peace. Before such a court, if New Haven should plead for exemption from the jurisdiction of Connecticut, it would probably have no better effect than to aid in subjecting them to the arbitrary government of the Duke of York. They saw that farther resistance, if not absolutely hopeless, would jeopard not only their own interests, but the common interests of all the colonies, and the interests of truth and liberty. Some, even in the face of this danger, thought at first, "that to stand as God hath kept us hitherto is our best way;" but they had too much wisdom to maintain the conflict in obstinacy or passion. Mr. Davenport himself, though probably as much averse to the measure as any other person, appears to have yielded to the necessity, and was one of the committee for consummating the union.

The principal reason of Mr. Davenport's strenuous and protracted opposition to this union, was, his expectation that it would have an unfavorable bearing on the purity of the Churches, and thus on the prosperity of religion. In the Connecticut colony the Churches had always been more subject to legislative intermeddling than in New Haven. In that colony, too, as in Massachusetts, there was a growing party which demanded a new standard of qualifications for admission to church membership. The demand was that all baptized persons not positively scandalous in their lives, should be recognized as church members, and that their

children in turn should be admitted to baptism. The synod from Connecticut and Massachusetts, in 1657, against which New Haven had remonstrated beforehand, agreed upon such answers to the questions submitted to them, as accorded with the views of the innovating party; but the opinions of that council seem to have had little immediate effect on the practice of the Churches. In 1662, at the time when Connecticut was beginning to set up her claim of jurisdiction over New Haven, another synod of the ministers in Massachusetts, with delegates from the Churches, was held at Boston. There, as in the preceding synod, the principle prevailed, that all baptized persons not convicted of scandalous actions, are so far church members, that upon acknowledging their baptismal covenant, and promising an outward conformity to it, though without any pretension to inward and spiritual religion, they may present their children for baptism. Thenceforward the "halfway covenant," as it was afterwards called, began to be practiced in the Churches.

Against this innovation Mr. Davenport stood in determined opposition. He of course was not a member of the synod; but he sent his written opinion, which, though the synod refused to hear it read, was "generally transcribed" and put within the reach of the members. His testimony, too, and that of his colleague, against the decision of the synod, was given in to the General Court of Massachusetts, with a preface signed by several ministers, who were of the minority in the synod, and who declared their full concurrence with Mr. Davenport. In the ensuing controversy he took a leading part. Soon after the result of the synod had been given to the world, he published an elaborate reply, which was accompanied with a long argumentative preface by Increase Mather, then a young man, and with a brief appendix from the pen of Mr. Street, the teacher of this Church. Mr. Chauncey, the President of Harvard College, also published a reply to the synod, in the name of the minority who had dissented from the conclusions of that body. President Chauncey was answered by Mr. Allen, pastor of the Church

in Dedham; Mr. Davenport by Richard Mather, of Dorchester. The controversy between the "Synodists" and the "Anti-synodists" divided the whole country. The question was indirectly a question of politics no less than of ecclesiastical order; for in Massachusetts, as well as in New Haven, the question who should be church members, involved the question who should partake of the right of suffrage. To Davenport, "gospel rules and patterns" were the pole-star, "from which," said he, "the compass of the last synod's conclusions seems to be varied by some degrees towards the antarctic."* The synod prevailed; but Davenport was right. The decay of piety which he prognosticated, as the result of halfway covenanting, soon began to be more and more visible. The Churches became gradually more and more a part of the civil constitution; and the effects of a union of Church and State were continually more developed.

While this controversy was in progress, the First Church in Boston was bereaved of both its ministers. John Norton, who had succeeded John Cotton in the office of teacher, died suddenly, April 5, 1663; and to his place the celebrated John Owen was invited from England, and was on the point of coming, but was discouraged by the measures which were then in progress to extinguish the liberties of New England.† John Wilson, who had been pastor of that Church from the date of its organization in 1630, died August 7, 1667; and thus that most considerable and influential of the New England Churches was, for the first time, left without a minister. Many of the members thought that for such a Church, no young minister, and no minister educated in this country, could be a fit pastor. The eyes of the majority were turned towards Mr. Davenport, as by far the most distinguished of the surviving fathers of New England; and accordingly he was invited to that station, on the 24th of September, 1667,

* Hutchinson, III, 393. For the history of the synod, and of Mr. Davenport's connection with it, see Hubbard, 587; Mather, Magn. V, 62, 77; Hutch. I, 223.

† Hutchinson, I, 226.

and a committee was appointed to convey letters to him and to his Church.

Against this movement on the part of the First Church in Boston, there was, within that Church, a strong opposition. Wilson and Norton had both been leading "Synodists;" and by their influence the Church had been brought to adopt in practice the decision of the synod. The giving of this call to Davenport, the greatest of the "Anti-synodists," was a triumph of the party which in that Church had been the minority; and such a triumph would naturally have a great effect upon other Churches, and upon the politics of the colony as affected by the chief ecclesiastical question of the day. Opposition on such grounds, though exhibited in the formal "dissent" of "thirty brethren," among whom were many of the principal members "of that eminent Church," had of course no effect to discourage so strenuous an opposer of the new practice from accepting the call.

The messengers and letters from Boston, found here a much more unwilling reception from the Church than from the pastor. Mr. Davenport was beforehand inclined to a removal. The independent jurisdiction of his own colony had been extinguished. The principle that the trust of government and of electing magistrates, should be committed to none but members of the Churches,—for which he had so strenuously contended, and which he regarded as the only full security for the peaceable enjoyment of the gospel with its ordinances,—was here given up. "In New Haven colony," as he expressed himself, "Christ's interest was miserably lost."* Besides, the great ecclesiastical controversy of the day was to be carried on and decided in Massachusetts; and there, his personal influence would bear upon the controversy far more efficiently than if he continued here. Under the influence of such considerations, he determined on removing, notwithstanding his attachment to his people, and their unwillingness to part with him.

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* Hutchinson, III, 395.

This Church refused to accept his resignation, or in any way to consent to his removal. The utmost to which they could be brought by his persuasions, as well as the entreaties of the Church in Boston, was, that if he was determined to go, they would no longer oppose his determination, though they still refused to take the responsibility of consenting. Upon this he considered himself at liberty to act according to his own judgment; and in 1668, probably in the month of April,* just thirty years after the commencement of his ministry here, he removed to Boston with his family. He and his son, with their wives, were received into the Church at Boston, on the 11th of October,† and his ordination as pastor there,—or, as we should say, his installation,—took place on the 9th of December.‡

His removal in such circumstances occasioned much difficulty. The minority of the Church in Boston charged him and the other elders with equivocation, because they communicated to the Church only those parts of the letters from New Haven, which seemed to imply a dismission, whereas it was maintained that if the whole had been read, it would have appeared that there was no dismission. Several letters were written, and messengers were sent from that Church to this, in the hope of prevailing on this Church "to declare their owning of the letter sent from them to be a true dismission of Mr. Davenport." Of that correspondence nothing remains but a fragment of one of the letters from this Church. That fragment is so full of reverent affection towards their pastor, even after he had torn himself away from them, and breathes so much of the Christian spirit, that it is well worthy of preservation. "Though you," say they, "judge it the last expedient for your relief, and the remedy

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* A deed executed by Mr. Davenport, as trustee of Gov. Hopkins's estate, bears date 18th April, 1668. In this deed he describes himself as pastor of the Church in New Haven; yet it was executed with the obvious design of leaving New Haven.

† Records of First Church in Boston.

‡ Emerson's Hist. of First Church in Boston, 110.

of some evils growing in the country, as also we might do the same, if we had nothing before our eyes but his accomplishments and fitness for high service to God in his Church; but being so much in the dark about his way in leaving this Church and joining to yours, that we are not without doubts and fears of some uncomfortable issue, we therefore cannot clearly act in such a way as is expected and desired. We are of the same mind as when we returned an answer to your first letter, thus expressing ourselves:—We see no cause nor call of God to resign our reverend pastor to the Church of Boston by any immediate act of ours, therefore not by a formal dismission under our hands. It is our great grief and sore affliction, that we cannot do for him, whom we so highly esteem in love for his work's sake and profitable labors among us, what is desired, without wrong to our consciences. Any thing that we have or are, beside our consciences, we are ready to lay down at his feet. Such is our honorable respect to him, our love to peace, our desire of your supply, that we shall go as far as we safely can in order to his and your satisfaction in this matter, having before us for our warrant, Acts xxi, 14, 'When he would not be persuaded, we ceased, saying, The will of the Lord be done.' Therefore, to suppress what we could say touching that passage in our first letter whereof such hold hath been taken, and what we have said in our last letter to you, of our reverend pastor's making null the liberty before granted, which we doubt not we are able clearly to demostrate, yet if this will satisfy, (but not otherwise,) we are content to wave and bury in silence, and leave both yourselves and him to make what improvement you see cause (without any clog or impediment from us upon that account) of the liberty before mentioned."

"As he hath been a faithful laborer in God's vineyard at New Haven for many years, to the bringing home of many souls to God, and building up of many others; so it is and shall be our prayer to God to lengthen his life and tranquillity in Boston, to double his Spirit upon him, assist him in his work, and make him a blessed instrument of much good to

yourselves and many others. The good Lord pardon, on all hands, what he hath seen amiss in these actings and motions, that no sinful malignity may obstruct or hinder God's blessing upon Churches or Church administrations. As himself and his son have desired, we do dismiss unto your holy fellowship Mr. John Davenport, Junr., and Mrs. Davenport elder and younger, desiring you to receive them in the Lord as becometh saints, and imploring Almighty God for his blessing upon them from his holy ordinances in their communion and walking with you. The God of all grace supply all your and our need, according to his riches in glory through Jesus Christ. Thus craving your prayers for us in our afflicted condition, we take our leave, and rest yours in the fellowship of the gospel.

NICHOLAS STREET,
in the name and with the consent of the Church of Christ at New Haven."*

Mr. Davenport was, at this time, more than seventy years of age. What minister so far advanced in life, would now be called from one Church to another, because of the eminency of his qualifications for usefulness? When was there ever another such instance of competition and controversy between Churches, for the enjoyment of the ministry of one who, always an invalid, had numbered more than three-score years and ten? How rarely can you find a Church who, when a minister has torn himself away from them, retain for him so strong and reverent an affection?

Those in the Church at Boston, who had protested against the call given to Mr. Davenport, were inflexible in their opposition. Having applied in vain for a dismission, they seceded, and formed a new Church, now known as the "Old South Church in Boston." A new impulse was thus given to the controversy then in progress. The two Churches,

* Wisner, Hist. of Old South Church in Boston, 74. The date of the letter, of which these fragments were found among the papers of the Old South Church, was "12, 8, 68," i. e. 12, Oct. 1668.

the First and the South, had no mutual communion, and the whole colony of Massachusetts took sides with one or the other. The questions about the recommendations of the synod, had become involved with, and in a measure superseded by, questions about the conduct of Mr. Davenport and the old Church on the one hand, and the proceedings of the new Church and its adherents on the other.* It is not strange then that under his short ministry in Boston, there were no large additions to the Church.† Nor did he succeed in arresting the progress of the innovation which he so greatly feared. The "half-way covenant" system prevailed in the Churches of New England for more than a century; and it is only within some forty years past, that the views of which Davenport was the champion in 1662, have triumphed.

This distinguished man died, suddenly, on the 11th of March, 1670; and was buried in the tomb of his friend John Cotton.‡ Much of his character has been exhibited in the details of his life, which have been given; but before we take our leave of him, it may be useful to notice a few traits more particularly.

From his early youth to his death, he was devoted to study. Those lucubrations of his, which in London were protracted into the late hours of the night, were not discontinued when he had removed into a deeper wilderness than that which is now spread around the base of the Rocky Mountains. Here he was "almost continually in his study and family, except some public work or private duty called him forth;"§ and "he was so close and bent a student that the rude pagans themselves took much notice of it, and the Indian savages in the neighborhood would call him, *So big study man.*"‖

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* Hubbard, 602. Mather, V, 82. Hutch. I, 270. Wisner, Hist. of Old South Church, 6 and 69. This is one of the most valuable of the contributions to the ecclesiastical history of New England.

† Emerson, History of First Church, Boston, 112.

‡ Ibid. 120. Mather, III 56. The tomb of Cotton and Davenport is in the Stone Chapel burial-ground.

§ Church Records. ‖ Mather, Magn. III, 56.

The fruit of his studies was manifest in his sermons, and in his published works. He was eminently familiar with the Scriptures, which he often quoted in the original tongues, for the sake of exhibiting some delicate shade of meaning, invisible in the translation. His skill in evolving from the Scriptures not merely their historical or grammatical signification, but those "uses" of "doctrine, reproof, correction, and instruction in righteousness," for which "all Scripture is profitable," showed that his studies brought him into communion, not with the letter only, but with the living Spirit. He was a true master of the art of logic, as it was taught in those days, an art in the practice of which the mind was trained to the power of acute discrimination and analysis. Instead of being—as his weaker cotemporaries were prone to be—a slave to the technicalities of the art, he used them as easily as an expert workman uses the tools of his trade. None in a debate could better state the point in question; none could detect more promptly, or expose more strikingly, the fallacious statements, or the inconclusive arguments of an opponent. His various stores of knowledge afforded him at need, those ready and lively illustrations which are often more effective than dry argument can be. Some specimens of a work in Latin from his pen, show that he used that language, not as many theologians have used it, with barbarous idioms, but with a degree of gracefulness and elegance.*

I cannot but conceive of him as characterized by great dignity of manners, combined—as true dignity must ever be—with courtesy. "He had been acquainted with great men, and great things;" he had seen the world in all its phases;

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* Mather (Magn. III, 54,) gives several passages from a letter to Dury, the Peace-maker, written by Davenport and subscribed by all the ministers in the colony. The entire letter I have not seen. One passage is worth transcribing, and if all our wrangling Doctors had Latin enough to understand it, and grace enough to act accordingly, it would be better for the Churches.

"Sincere de erroribus judicare, et errores tamen in fratribus infirmis tolerare, utrumque judicamus esse Apostolicæ doctrinæ consonum. Toleratio vero fratrum infirmorum, non debet esse absque redarguatione, sed tantum absque rejectione."

and he appears to have been always treated with that respect which is not often withheld from those in whom the honest self-respect from which proceeds true dignity of manners, is mingled with the kindness which is the soul of courtesy.*

His sermons, as he prepared them for the pulpit, appear to have been, not discourses fully written out, after the manner now adopted by the most accomplished New England preachers, but outlines with somewhat extended sketches of the leading topics, to be completed and enlivened by the freedom and fire of extemporaneous utterance. Hence we can only very imperfectly judge of his power in the pulpit by any specimens of his preaching which have come down to us. That there was life and force in his discourses, may be seen on almost any page of his "Saints' Anchor-hold." But the testimony of his cotemporaries, is all that we have to tell us of what he actually was in the pulpit. One who was long acquainted with his reputation, and who after his removal to Boston must have often seen him, says: He was "a person beyond exception and compare, for all ministerial abilities;" and that even in his latest years, "he was of that vivacity, that the strength of his memory, profoundness of his judgment, floridness of his elocution, were little, if at all, abated in him."† Another, who in his youth was the particular friend of Davenport the aged, says, "He was a princely preacher. I have heard some say, who knew him in his younger years, that he was then very fervent and vehement as to the manner of his delivery, but in his later years he did very much imitate Mr. Cotton, whom, in the gravity of

* I find on the Colony Records, an expression of Mr. Davenport's, which seems to me sufficiently characteristic to deserve a place here. In the trial of a case of defamation, "Thomas Staplies, of Fairfield, plaintiff, Mr. Roger Ludlow, late of Fairfield, defendant," 29 May, 1654, Mr. and Mrs. Davenport were called by the plaintiff to testify to a conversation at their house, between them and the defendant. In regard to that conversation, Mr. Ludlow asserted "that he required and they promised secresy;"—to which Mr. Davenport replied, that "he is careful not to make unlawful promises, and when he hath made a lawful promise, he is, through the help of Christ, careful to keep it."

† Hubbard, 602, 603.

his countenance he did somewhat resemble. *Sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat.*"*

Let us call up the shade of our ancient prophet. I see him rising in his pulpit. The folds of his gown conceal, in part, the slenderness of his figure, worn thin with years of infirmity. The broad white bands falling upon his breast, starched and smooth,—the black round cap, from beneath which a few snowy locks show themselves,—the round face and delicate features, which, but for the short white beard, might seem almost feminine,—the dark bright eye, which shows that age has not yet dimmed the fire within,—complete the venerable image. Every eye is fixed upon him. He names his text. As he reads it, all rise to show their reverence for the "Scripture breathed of God." After they have been seated again, he proceeds. He unfolds his text historically and critically. He raises from it some one point of "doctrine." He "proves" that doctrine by an induction of instances from Scripture, or by the accumulation of proof-texts. He illustrates it, shows its connections with other truths, and justifies it to the understanding, by "reasons" drawn from the nature of things, and evolving the philosophy of the subject. He closes and applies his discourse with "uses," or inferences, drawn from his doctrine for "instruction," or "comfort," or "admonition," or "exhortation," till the last sands are falling in the hour glass. Meanwhile the listening congregation knows no weariness. The weighty thought, the cogent argument, the flashing illustration, the strong appeal to affection or to hope, the pungent application, the flow of soul in the fervent yet dignified utterance,—keep fast hold on their attention. "They sit under the shadow of his doctrine as it were with great delight, and find the fruit thereof sweet to their taste."†

If we turn from the survey of his talents and accomplishments, his studies and performances, to look upon his heart in its moral affections and habits, it is not enough to say that he was a man of eminent piety. His religious character was

* Increase Mather, Magn. III, 10. † Hubbard, 603.

marked with some lineaments particularly worthy of observation.

Nothing is more manifest in his writings, or in his life, than that he had a strong sense of duty. There is no element of human nature more exalted than that instinctive recognition of the force of obligation, which no depravity can entirely extinguish, but which rises to its just ascendency over inferior sensibilities only as it is quickened by the Spirit of God. The sentiment which sees good, even the highest good, and beauty, even the most glorious beauty, in doing right—that sentiment controlling the will, and shedding its sanctity over the thoughts and affections, is the image, and in a sense the presence, of God in the soul of man. This is what we mean by the sense of duty. It was strong in the heart of our first pastor. When he had clearly proved, in respect to any matter, what was duty—what was the application of the rules of righteousness—what God required—there was to him the end of the argument. "Lay this foundation," said he, "doth God require it?"

Nearly related to this sentiment was his confidence in God. Confidence in God cannot be, where there is no controlling sense of duty; he who lives for selfish ends cannot trust the providence of God, for God's ends and his are not coincident. So on the other hand, where the sentiment of confidence in Him who sways the destinies of all, is weak, there the sentiment of duty is weakened in proportion. If we cannot trust God, why should we concern ourselves with duty? If there is no power above and around us, to take care of us and of all, and to make truth and righteousness triumph in the end, let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die. "If we build God's house," said Davenport, "God will build our house." "While we are attending to our duty, God will be providing for our safety."

Habitual communion with God was the secret source of this strong practical confidence. "A young minister* once

* This young minister was probably Increase Mather, whom his son, in his account of Davenport, frequently denominates by some such periphrasis.

receiving wise and good counsels from this good and wise and great man, received this among the rest, 'that he should be much in ejaculatory prayers; for indeed ejaculatory prayers—as arrows in the hand of a mighty man, so are they,—happy is the man that has his quiver full of them.' And it was believed that he himself was well used to that sacred skill of 'walking with God,' and 'having his eyes ever towards the Lord,' and 'being in the fear of the Lord all the day long,' by the use of ejaculatory prayers on the innumerable occasions, which every turn of our lives does bring for those devotions. He was not only constant in more settled, whether social or secret, prayers; but also in the midst of all besieging incumbrances, tying the wishes of his devout soul to the arrows of ejaculatory prayers, he would shoot them away to the heavens, from whence he still expected all his help."*

It is always easy to detract from greatness and from goodness; for the greatest minds are not exempt from infirmity, and the purest and noblest bear some stain of human imperfection. Let others find fault with the founders of the New England colonies, because they were not more than human; be it ours to honor them. We have no occasion to disparage the wisdom or the virtues of the lawgivers of other states and nations; nor need the admirers of Calvert or of Penn detract from the wisdom, the valor, or the devotion of the fathers of New England. Not to Winthrop and Cotton, nor to Eaton and Davenport, nor yet to Bradford and Brewster, belongs the glory of demonstrating with how little government society can be kept together, and men's lives and property be safe from violence. That glory belongs to Roger Williams; and to him belongs also the better glory of striking out and maintaining, with the enthusiasm though not without something of the extravagance of genius, the great conception of a perfect religious liberty. New England has learned to honor the name of Williams as one of the most

* Magnalia, III, 54.

illustrious in her records; and his principle of unlimited religious freedom, is now incorporated into the being of all her commonwealths. To Penn belongs the glory, of having first opened in this land a free and broad asylum for men of every faith and every lineage. To him due honor is conceded; and America, still receiving into her "broad-armed ports," and enrolling among her own citizens, the thousands that come not only from the British Isles, but from the Alps, and from the Rhine, and from the bloody soil of Poland,—glories in his spreading renown. What then do we claim for the Pilgrims of Plymouth—what for the stern old Puritans of the Bay and of Connecticut—what for the founders of New Haven? Nothing, but that you look with candor on what they have done for their posterity and for the world. Their labors, their principles, their institutions, have made New England, with its hard soil and its cold long winters, "the glory of all lands." The thousand towns and villages,—the decent sanctuaries not for show but for use, crowning the hill-tops, or peering out from the valleys,—the means of education accessible to every family,—the universal diffusion of knowledge,—the order and thrift, the general activity and enterprise, the unparalleled equality in the distribution of property, the general happiness resulting from the diffusion of education and of pure religious doctrine,—the safety in which more than half the population sleep nightly with unbolted doors,—the calm, holy Sabbaths, when mute nature in the general silence becomes vocal with praise, when the whisper of the breeze seems more distinct, the distant waterfall louder and more musical, the carol of the morning birds clearer and sweeter—this is New England; and where will you find the like, save where you find the operation of New England principles and New England influence? This is the work of our fathers and ancient lawgivers. They came hither, not with new theories of government from the laboratories of political alchymists, not to try wild experiments upon human nature, but only to found a new empire for God, for truth, for virtue, for freedom guarded and bounded by

justice. To have failed in such an attempt had been glorious. Their glory is that they succeeded.

In founding their commonwealths, their highest aim was the glory of God in "the common welfare of all." Never before, save when God brought Israel out of Egypt, had any government been instituted with such an aim. They had no model before them, and no guidance save the principles of truth and righteousness embodied in the word of God, and the wisdom which he giveth liberally to them that ask him. They thought that their end, "the common welfare of all," was to be secured by founding pure and free Churches, by providing the means of universal education, and by laws maintaining perfect justice, which is the only perfect liberty. "The common welfare of all," said Davenport, is that "whereunto all men are bound principally to attend in laying the foundation of a commonwealth, lest posterity rue the first miscarriages when it will be too late to redress them. They that are skillful in architecture observe, that the breaking or yielding of a stone in the groundwork of a building, but the breadth of the back of a knife, will make a cleft of more than half a foot in the fabric aloft. So important, saith mine author, are fundamental errors. The Lord awaken us to look to it in time, and send us his light and truth to lead us into the safest ways in these beginnings."*

Not in vain did that prayer go up to heaven. Light and truth were sent; and posterity has had no occasion to rue the miscarriages of those who laid the "groundwork" of New England. On their foundations has arisen a holy structure. Prayers, toils, tears, sacrifices, and precious blood, have hallowed it. No unseemly fissures, deforming "the fabric aloft," dishonor its founders. Convulsions that have rocked the world, have not moved it. When terror has seized the nations, and the faces of kings have turned pale at the footsteps of Almighty wrath, peace has been within its walls,

* Discourse upon Civil Government, 14.

and still the pure incense has been fragrant at its altar. Wise master-builders were they who laid the foundations. They built for eternity.

Among those truly noble men, it is not easy to name one more strongly marked with bright endowments, and brighter virtues, or more worthy to be had in everlasting remembrance, than he for whom the quaint historian has proposed as his fit epitaph,

VIVUS, NOV-ANGLIÆ AC ECCLESIÆ ORNAMENTUM,
ET
MORTUUS, UTRIUSQUE TRISTE DESIDERIUM.*

* Several letters from Mr. Davenport to Gov. Winthrop, heretofore unpublished, will be found in the appendix No. XI. The catalogue of Davenport's published works, and some other particulars of information concerning him, will also be found in the same place.

# DISCOURSE VIII.

NICHOLAS STREET.—THE FIRST GENERATION PASSING AWAY.—THE ERA OF THE WAR WITH KING PHILIP.

ECCLESIASTES, i, 4.—One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh.

WHEN Mr. Davenport removed to Boston, he did not leave this Church destitute of the stated ministry of the word. His colleague, who has already been named as sustaining the office of teacher, was the Rev. Nicholas Street. Mr. Street received his education in England; but at which of the universities, if at either, I am unable to ascertain. Nor does it appear in what year he came into this country. He was settled at Taunton, in the Plymouth colony, as colleague with Mr. Hooke, at the first organization of the Church there, about the year 1638. There was a period in the history of the Plymouth colony—"an hour of temptation," as Mather describes it, "when the fondness of the people for the prophesyings of the brethren, as they called those exercises, that is to say the preachments of those whom they called gifted brethren, produced those discouragements to their ministers, that almost all their ministers left the colony, apprehending themselves driven away by the insupportable neglect and contempt with which the people treated them."* At the commencement, as I suppose, of "that dark hour of eclipse," Mr. Hooke relinquished the office of pastor in the Church at Taunton, and accepted that of teacher in the Church at New Haven. Twelve years afterwards, when the "eclipse" in Plymouth colony was probably the darkest, the office of teacher in this Church became vacant again by Mr. Hooke's

* Magn. I, 14. Samuel Newman, of Rehoboth, "was almost the only minister whose invincible patience held out under the scandalous neglect and contempt of the ministry which the whole colony of Plymouth was for a while bewitched into."—Ibid. III, 114.

return to England; and it may be presumed that it was by Mr. Hooke's friendly influence that his old colleague at Taunton became his successor here. The Church did not proceed on that occasion as Churches now proceed when they call a minister away from his settlement. They did not place him over them as their minister, merely because of his general reputation, or because somebody recommended him. Mr. Street left Taunton, removed his family to New Haven, took up his residence here, and afterwards, when he had become acquainted with the people and the people with him, he was elected and ordained teacher of this Church. The date of his ordination stands upon our church records, "the 26th of the 9th, 1659."*

For eight or nine years, he was associated here with Mr. Davenport. After the removal of his colleague, he continued the only minister in the Church till his death, which took place on the 22d of April, 1674. Since that time, there has been no distinction attempted in this Church between the the office of teacher and that of pastor.

Of the character of Mr. Street, as of his life, we know but little. He appears to have been a pious, judicious, modest man. His "Considerations upon the Seven Propositions concluded by the Synod," published as an appendix to Mr. Dav-

* The Rev. Richard Blinman appears to have preached to this Church for a short time after Mr. Hooke went away, and before Mr. Street was introduced into the vacancy. According to Winthrop, (II, 64,) who characterizes him as "a godly and able man," he came over from Wales in 1642. He labored a few months at Marshfield; then he and his friends removed from that place to Cape Ann, and founded Gloucester. In 1648, he was the first minister at New London. It is not improbable that he was brought to New Haven by the friendly offices of Governor Winthrop. The only instance in which his name appears on our records is on the first of July, 1658, when at a town meeting, "Deacon Miles informed that Mr. Blinman was like to want corn and other provisions within a short time, which he desired might be considered, how he may be supplied." From New Haven he went to Newfoundland, and thence to England. Mather (Magn. III, 13) says, that he "concluded his life at the city of Bristol, where one of the last things he did was to defend in print the cause of infant-baptism." He had been minister at Chepstow, near Bristol.—Non-conformist's Memorial, (Palmer's ed.,) III, 177. See Allen's Biographical Dictionary.

enport's more elaborate book on the same subject, shows great clearness of thought, and some pungency of style. That he was no inferior preacher, may be inferred from the fact that he was found worthy to succeed Mr. Hooke, and that he maintained his standing as the colleague of Mr. Davenport. The whole course of his ministry here, was about sixteen years and a half.

Most of the incidents of his ministry have been commemorated in our notices of Mr. Davenport. Yet one proceeding of the Church and people, which does not appear to have been consummated till after Mr. Davenport's removal, ought not to be omitted here. In the year 1665, on the day of the anniversary thanksgiving, a contribution was "given in" for "the saints that were in want in England." This was at the time when, in that country, so many ministers, ejected from their places of settlement, were, by a succession of enactments, studiously cut off from all means of obtaining bread for themselves and their wives and children. The contribution was made, as almost all payments of debts or of taxes were made at that period, in grain and other commodities; there being no money in circulation, and no banks by which credit could be converted into currency. It was paid over to the deacons in the February following. We, to whom it is so easy, in the present state of commerce, to remit the value of any contribution to almost any part of the world, cannot easily imagine the circuitous process by which that contribution reached the "poor saints" whom it was intended to relieve. By the deacons the articles contributed were probably first exchanged, to some extent, for other commodities more suitable for exportation. Then the amount was sent to Barbadoes, with which island the merchants of this place had intercourse, and was exchanged for sugars, which were thence sent to England, to the care of four individuals, two of whom were Mr. Hooke and Mr. Newman, the former teacher and ruling elder of this Church. In 1671, Mr. Hooke, in a letter to the Church, said, "Mr. Caryl, Mr. Barker, Mr. Newman and myself have received sugars from Barbadoes to the value

of about £90, and have disposed of it to several poor ministers and ministers' widows. And this fruit of your bounty is very thankfully received and acknowledged by us. And the good Lord make all grace to abound towards you, &c. 2 Cor. ix, 8—12."*

The death of Mr. Street was followed by a period of ten years in which the Church was without an elder to labor in word and doctrine. During this long interval, the work of the ministry, so far as it was performed at all, was performed by a succession of candidates, whose occasional and temporary labors could accomplish but little for the cause of religion. Of these preachers, the most distinguished, and indeed the only one of whom any thing is now known with certainty, was Mr. John Harriman, afterwards pastor at Elizabethtown, in New Jersey. Mr. Harriman was a native of New Haven. His father was for many years a respected member of the Church, and was long the keeper of the ordinary, or house of public entertainment in this town. The son, having been fitted for college in the grammar school here, under the eye of Mr. Davenport, was educated at Harvard College, where he graduated in 1667. For about twenty years, he resided in this place; and during that period, he preached as a candidate for the ministry here, at Wallingford, and at East Haven.

Another of the preachers here during the same period, was a Mr. Taylor, whom I suppose to be the Joseph Taylor who graduated at Harvard College in 1669, who was a fellow or tutor in that institution, who was ordained pastor of South-

* Town records. The words of Paul referred to by Mr. Hooke, are these: "And God is able to make all grace abound toward you; that ye, always having all sufficiency in all things, may abound to every good work: (as it is written, He hath dispersed abroad; he hath given to the poor; his righteousness remaineth for ever. Now, he that ministereth seed to the sower, both minister bread for your food, and multiply your seed sown, and increase the fruits of your righteousness:) being enriched in every thing to all bountifulness, which causeth through us thanksgiving to God. For the administration of this service not only supplieth the wants of the saints, but is abundant also by many thanksgivings unto God."

ampton, on Long Island, in March, 1680, and who died in April, 1682, aged 31.* He appears to have been preaching here before the death of Mr. Street; and he continued to perform that work till the spring of 1679; and after that, in September, it was not yet certain that he would not return.

Mr. Harriman's service in the Church began in July, 1676. In March, 1678, he was desired by the Church "to go on in his work." His labors here continued till the year 1682. Mr. Taylor, at least, seems to have been at one time called by the Church to a permanent settlement. †

While these two men were employed by the Church as preachers, there arose much difficulty and contention, the precise nature of which I have not been able to ascertain. Tradition says, that the contention was between the adherents of the rival candidates, and that the two parties were known by the names of the two preachers; but nothing of this kind appears on any of the records, and it is quite as likely that the division was upon the great question of the day, the question about "the halfway covenant." It is certain, however, that there were difficulties; that the Church and the town were much divided; and that religion greatly declined, while many things were done which were afterwards repented of with public humiliation.

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* Farmer, Geneal. Reg. Dr. Dana, probably by mistake, says that Mr. Taylor's name was John.

† These particulars are gleaned partly from the records of the town, and partly from those of the Church. Mr. Taylor was doubtless the person indicated by the initials "J. T." in the following anecdote, which Mather (Magn. VII, 34,) copies from the letter of "an excellent and ingenious person," probably Mr. Pierpont.

"E. F. sometimes of Salem, coming to New Haven on Saturday even, being cloathed in black, was taken for a minister, and was able to ape one, and humored the mistake like him that said, *Si vult populus decipi decipiatur*. Word being carried to Mr. J. T. that a minister was come to town, he immediately procured him to preach both parts of the day. The first was to acceptation; but in the last exercise he plentifully showed himself to be a whimsical opinionist, and besides, railed like Rabshakeh, and reviled the magistrates, ministers and churches at such a rate, that the people were ready to pull him out of the pulpit."

On the 5th of February, 1678, a council from the Churches of Milford and Guilford met here "to be helpful" to this Church "with light and counsel touching the difficulties" which then existed. As the proceedings which ensued serve to give some idea of the state of the Church at that time, some account of them is proper. Eight days after the meeting of the council, namely, on Wednesday, the 12th of February, the Church met "to read and consider what advice was left by the honored and reverend council." In compliance with the advice given, Mr. William Jones and Capt. John Nash, "were by vote called and desired to assist the deacon in molding and moderating matters for the Church;" and a day of fasting and prayer was agreed upon to be kept on Wednesday of the following week. Mr. Jones and Capt. Nash were requested to draw up in writing a statement of the grounds on which the Church was to unite in public humiliation. The statement thus prepared was submitted to the Church on the Sabbath day, and was approved and assented to. The day appointed was duly observed as a day of humiliation, fasting and prayer, the public exercises "being carried on, the former part of the day by Deacon Peck and Mr. Harriman, and the latter part by Mr. William Jones and Capt. John Nash, with appearance of the gracious presence and assistance of God, to the refreshing and comfort of all that were present."*

After the close of Mr. Harriman's services in the year 1682, the Church and town enjoyed for one year the labors of a Mr. Wilson, who came to this place from "the Bay;" but of whom nothing farther is now known.†

During this period, a great change took place in the mode of supporting public worship. The original method of defraying ecclesiastical expenses from the church treasury in the keeping of the deacons, and of supplying the church treasury by voluntary contributions only, was maintained till Mr. Davenport and Mr. Street were both gone. But in

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* Church Records. † Town Records.

March, 1677, a proposition was presented in writing from the Church to a town meeting, by Deacon Peck, upon which, "after debate, the town, for the encouragement of those that preach the word of God unto us, according as had been propounded, did by vote order and appoint, that for the ensuing year there shall be levied and paid from the inhabitants two rates and a half," that is, a tax of two and a half pence in the pound. But the change was not complete. No man was appointed to collect this tax; it seems to have been supposed that every man would pay his part at his own convenience, either to the ministers or to the church treasury. And when at the next town meeting, "John Thompson propounded that some might be appointed to receive the minister's rates," "it was answered that it was not of necessity at this time." And when the same man, supposing that it now belonged to the town to employ and dismiss ministers as well as to pay them, "further propounded that the town would appoint a committee to treat with the ministers, and that it was according to law; the law was read, and he was told that the law speaks of no such thing. Then he said it was according to Christianity; but he was answered, that neither our law nor Christian rules required it of us, and the town had other occasions to attend at this time, which they were come together to perform." Yet at another town meeting, in December of the same year, "Mr. Jones informed the town that one occasion of calling them together was respecting the ministers. The townsmen had heard that there were not necessary supplies brought in for their subsistence, which was not well among such a people." And accordingly, "the town by vote did make choice of and appoint Deacon William Peck and John Chidsey to make up the rate and appoint the delivery of it to the ministers, and to prosecute such as fail in the payment."* Thus the change was completed. The support of the ministry was transferred to the town. The change seems to indicate, not only that the ministers

* Town Records.

then serving in the pulpit had a much lower place in the affections of the people than Mr. Davenport and his colleagues had possessed; but also that the power of religion itself in the community was declining. The change shows the growth of selfish and narrow feelings, and the decay of public spirit. It shows that one generation was passing away, and that another was coming.

The period of this protracted vacancy in the pastoral office here, included the times of the memorable war of the New England colonies with the Indians combined under King Philip. I may not stop to tell the story of that war, during which the very existence of New England was in question. Philip, of Mount Hope, a high-spirited savage, of great enterprise, bravery and military genius, jealous of the constant growth of the English settlements, hating their religion, despising those of his own countrymen who embraced the worship and cultivated the manners of the white men, and feeling strong in that acquaintance with the arms of civilized warfare which the Indians had so extensively acquired, united the savage tribes of Massachusetts and Rhode Island in a last desperate effort to exterminate the English. The conflict lasted about two years; and it was a conflict, the details of which show more of heroism in action and in suffering, than can be found in the history of almost any other war, ancient or modern. During that war, so crowded with disasters and horrors that fill the traditions of all the old towns of Massachusetts, New Haven, and indeed every other settlement within the bounds of Connecticut, was mercifully preserved from the presence of the enemy. No village was swept away by the storm of war. No rural sanctuary was laid in ruins. No laborer, shot by the ambushed savage, fell in the furrow. No father returning to his house, found all desolate, the calcined bones of his children mingled with the ashes of his dwelling. No mother, torn from her sick bed, saw her babe dashed in pieces against her own hearth-stone. Such things there were in other parts of New England; but they were not in Connecticut. Yet here were alarms and watch-

ings—here were levies of soldiers—here every storehouse, every dwelling, yielded its supplies to feed the army—here was that sad sight, the young, the brave, the hope of gray-haired sires, the strength and pride of the plantation, marching away from the homes that looked to them for protection. Here were dreadful tidings from the camp and the battle.

In the records of proceedings here at that time, there is so much of freshness and vividness, so much to illustrate the character and condition of the people, that I may be excused in transcribing a few passages.

At a town meeting, the 2d of July, 1675, just twelve days after Philip's first act of hostility, "Mr. Jones acquainted the town, that the occasion of calling the meeting so suddenly was concerning the rising and outrage of the Indians in Plymouth colony at Seakonk and Swansy, which was informed by letters sent from the Narragansett country to the Governor, the copies of which were sent to us that we consider and prepare in time against the common danger." After the reading of the letters, "it was moved that every person now would be quickened to have his arms ready by him for his use and defense. And it was advised that those who live abroad at the farms be careful not to straggle abroad into the woods, at least not yet, till we have further intelligence of the Indians' motions, and that they keep watch in the night to discover danger, and upon intelligence of danger to get together to stand for their defense at the farms, or else to come to the town." "Mr. Jones further informed that Philip the Indian was a bloody man, and hath been ready formerly to break out against the English, but had been hitherto restrained. But now war was broke forth, and it is likely must be prosecuted." "The town was also informed that the magistrates had had speech with our Indians, and they denied any knowledge of Philip's motions, neither did they like them, and also said that they had no men gone that way, and would give us any intelligence they meet with, and that if any strange Indians come to them, they will inform us and not harbor them. The town ordered that an account be ta-

ken of the Indians, how many men they are and where they are; and Matthew Moulthrop, who now took the constable's oath, was to warn them and look after them." Arrangements were also made for "a military watch at the town;" and a committee of safety was appointed.

At a meeting in September, a committee was appointed to superintend the erection of fortifications at the meeting house, "and also at any other place or places about town, as they or the major part of them shall agree." Capt. Roswell was appointed "to prepare the great guns, or so many of them as is necessary, to be fit for service." And finally, "the town considering the present circumstances, and our danger, by vote appointed (whilst these exercises are on us) that *all* the inhabitants bring their arms and ammunition to the meetings upon the Sabbaths and other public days."

On the 12th of October, there was "a meeting of the dwellers in the town, the farms not being warned," at which "Mr. Jones acquainted the town, that the cause of calling the town together was the sad tidings that was come to us, of the burning of Springfield, and some persons slain by the Indians." It was immediately agreed that besides the fortification on the green, palisadoes should be erected at the ends of the streets and at the angles of the town, such as should be a shelter against the shot of an enemy. It was also ordered that all small wood, brush and underwood within half a mile of the town plot should be cut down and cleared away, that it might not afford shelter to Indians to creep in a skulking manner near the town.

So again on the 18th of October, Mr. Jones acquainted the town that intelligence had come "that there is a strong confederacy among the Indians in these parts against the English, and that our pretended friends are in the plot, and that this light moon they did intend to attack Hartford and some other places as far as Greenwich." He also gave information on the authority of some communication from Major Treat, "that the Narragansetts are in great preparation for war." The General Court too, he told them, and the Coun-

cil "do advise all the plantations to fortify themselves in the best way they can against the common enemy." The business of enclosing the town with fortifications was urged forward; and it was determined that while that work was in progress, some particular houses should be garrisoned.

Twelve days afterwards, (30th October,) there was another meeting, and farther arrangements were made for hastening the fortifications. "The Deputy Governor [Leete] being present in the meeting, spoke much to the encouragement and advising of the inhabitants to go on with the work, and to do it with unanimity, seeking the safety of the whole, as far as may be, but especially as in the natural body the hands and all the members seek the securing of the heart."

During the depth of winter, the alarm was somewhat less urgent; but on the 7th of February, (17th, N. S.) "it was propounded that now the winter season, which had hindered the finishing of the fortification about the town, wearing off, it [the fortification] might go forward again and be perfected; and that the present state of things as to the war, calls for attendance to that work, especially the Narragansetts appearing in such hostility: and the last intelligence from the Council at Hartford was, that the enemy doth scatter into several bodies to disperse themselves into the country; and they being hungry will seek for supply: and the consideration of what damage may come, should hasten us in our duty to be in the use of means for our safety."

On the 6th of March, the fortification being not yet completed, it was ordered, for the sake of obtaining "a supply of wood to finish the line," "that every team in the town and farms, except those on the east side of the East river, do each of them bring to the work one load of suitable wood, and those that have not teams to help to cut it, and to bring it at the farthest on the 8th and 9th days of this month." At the same time an order was made "that no Indian be suffered to come into the town to see the fortifications, or take notice of any of our actings and motions; and that by the constable, warning be given them that not any of them may come

into the town, nor unto any English houses; and that if any Indian come into the town, he be apprehended and sent back again, yet what may be to avoid any misusage of them." All persons able to bear arms were ordered to bring their arms, with a sufficient quantity of powder and shot, to all meetings for public worship; "only the dwellers at the farms had liberty in bad weather to leave their arms, and so secure them that the enemy get them not." The distress of the time was augmented by sickness, which made it necessary at a meeting in April, to reduce their nightly watch.

In the course of the ensuing summer, the war was brought to a conclusion. In the east, however, the war continued several years longer, till most of the settlements in what is now the State of Maine had been swept away, and the country recovered by the savages.

The two years of war with King Philip, were the most disastrous and dreadful years in all the history of New England. Desperate as was the struggle a century later, in the war of the revolution, that conflict with the most powerful nation on earth, involved less of suffering, and less expenditure of treasure and of life, in proportion to what were then the resources of the United States, than was involved in the war with Philip. At the close of the war, more than six hundred of the inhabitants of New England, including no small part of the flower and strength of the colonies, had fallen in battle or been murdered by the enemy. There was hardly a family or an individual that was not mourning the loss of some near friend. Every eleventh man in the militia had fallen; every eleventh family throughout New England had been "burnt out." The cultivation of the soil had been in a great measure suspended; all resources were exhausted; and every colony and town was loaded with debt.* In all the conflict, and in the ensuing distresses, not the least assistance did the colonies derive from the parent country. Nay, at that very time, the profligates in the court of Charles II,

* Trumbull, I, 350.

were plotting how to seize and divide the spoils of weakened and impoverished New England.

The first and most obvious effect of war is to exhaust and impoverish. It is this which the suffering country feels at the time, with the keenest sensibility. Upon this the historian dwells in his narrative, with the most copious illustrations. But how soon do such effects pass away, when once the cause has ceased. The

"Grass o'ergrows each mouldering bone,"

upon the battle-ground,—the corn waves again in the field where the fires of the enemy spread devastation,—the ruined home is rebuilt,—the empty storehouse is replenished,—new affections spring up, new joys and griefs occupy the minds of survivors; and, in a little while, how few are the visible traces of the storm that swept the land, and left it filled with horror.

But war has other effects, deeper, more to be dreaded, more enduring. It demoralizes and barbarizes the people. What passions does it awaken and nourish! What habits does it form! How does a population long trained to war loathe the industry, and despise the virtues of peace! Wrath, fury, rapine, are the virtues of war. And the more desperate the conflict, the nearer it is brought to every man's hearth, the deeper and more abiding will be those unseen but direful influences.* Where the young men finish their schooling

* If any reader doubts what is meant by the demoralizing and barbarizing tendency of war, let him read what Hutchinson has recorded in a note, as illustrating the exasperation of the people at the period now under review. "Mr. Increase Mather, in a letter to Mr. Cotton, [of Plymouth,] 23d, 5mo. 1677, mentions an instance of rage against two prisoners of the Eastern Indians, then at Marblehead, a fishing town, which goes beyond any other I have heard of. 'Sabbath day was se'night, the women at Marblehead, as they came out of the meeting house, fell upon two Indians that were brought in as captives, and in a tumultuous way, very barbarously murdered them. Doubtless if the Indians hear of it, the captives among them will be served accordingly.' The Indians had murdered some of the fishermen in the Eastern harbors of the province." Hutch. I, 307.

in the camp, no matter how severe the discipline, or how righteous the cause, what can be expected but corruption?

War also resists and even corrupts the influences of religion. When war in a righteous cause, war for liberty and for existence, rouses a people to enthusiasm, it makes religion not its ally only, but its handmaid. And pure religion cannot but be the sufferer by such a servitude. All the history of Christianity is a melancholy illustration of this. When did religion "pure and undefiled" prosper,—when did it escape corruption, and the paralysis of its salutary powers, in a country agitated with war? The gospel is the religion of peace; and in peace only, does it yield those leaves which are for the healing of the nations.

The desperate war with Philip, and the more prolonged conflict with the Eastern Indians, had much to do with the decay of the primitive glory of New England. The country recovered without difficulty from its impoverishment and exhaustion; population spread rapidly over the regions from which the vanquished barbarian had fled; but the pure stern primitive morals, and the power of evangelical doctrine, suffered a continued decay.

As I trace this history from one period of distress and conflict to another, the thought is continually presenting itself, How great the expense at which our privileges have been obtained for us! We dwell in peace and perfect safety. The lines are fallen to us in pleasant places. Beauty, comfort, light, joy, are all around us. The poorest man among us, has within his reach immunities and blessings without number, means of improvement and means of enjoyment, to which the far greater portion of mankind, even in the most favored communities, have hitherto been strangers. And how little of this has been obtained by any effort or any sacrifice of ours. We have entered into other men's labors. We are enjoying the results of their agonies, and the answer to their prayers. They subdued the wilderness, and planted a land not sown; that we might dwell in a land adorned with culture, and enriched with the products of industry and art.

They traversed with weary steps the pathless woods, where the wild beast growled upon them from his lair; that we might travel upon roads of iron, borne by powers of which they never dreamed, and with a speed that leaves the winds behind. They encountered all that is terrible in savage war, and shed their blood in swamps and forests; that we might live in this security. They, with anxiety that never rested, and with many a stroke of vigilant or daring policy, baffled the machinations of the enemies who sought to reduce them to a servile dependence on the crown; that we might enjoy this popular government, these equal laws, this perfect liberty. They came to the world's end, away from schools and libraries, and all the fountains of light in the old world; that we and our children might inhabit a land, glorious with the universal diffusion of knowledge. They were exiles for truth and purity, they like their Savior were tempted in the wilderness; that the truth might make us free, and that the richest blessing of their covenant God might come on their posterity. All that there is in our lot for which to be grateful, we owe, under God, to those who here have labored, and prayed, and suffered for us.

So it is every where. While every man is in one view the arbiter of his own destiny, the author of his own weal or woe; in another view, equally true and equally important, every man's lot is determined by others. Every where in this world, you see the principle of vicarious action and vicarious suffering. No being under the government of God, exists for himself alone; and in this world of conflict and of change, where evermore one generation passeth away and another generation cometh, the greatest toil of each succeeding age is to provide for its successors. Thus, by the very constitution and conditions of our existence here, does our Creator teach us to rise above the narrow views and aims of selfishness, and to find our happiness in seeking the happiness of others. Such is God's plan,—such are the relations by which he connects us with the past and with the future, as well as with our fellow actors in the passing scene; and the

mind which by the grace of the gospel has been renewed to a participation "of the Divine nature," throws itself spontaneously into God's plan, and learns the meaning of that motto, "None of us liveth to himself and none dieth to himself." The believer, created anew in Christ, and knowing him and the power of his resurrection, knows also "the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable to his death." (Phil. iii, 10.) In this spirit an apostle exclaimed, "I rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ." (Col. i, 24.)

Look about you now, and compute if you can, how much you are enjoying of the purchase of other men's toils, the results of their patience and steadfastness, and the answer to their prayers. The debt is infinite. All that you can do to discharge it, is to stand in your lot, for truth, for freedom, for virtue, and "for the good of posterity."

# DISCOURSE IX.

FROM 1684 TO 1714.—JAMES PIERPONT.—CAUSES OF PROGRESSIVE DECLENSION, AND ATTEMPTS AT REFORMATION.—FOUNDING OF YALE COLLEGE.—FORMATION OF THE SAYBROOK CONSTITUTION.

PSALM cxlv, 4.—One generation shall praise thy works to another, and shall declare thy mighty acts.

As soon as New England began to recover from the exhaustion and impoverishment consequent on the war with the Indians, the people here were greatly in earnest to obtain a reestablishment of the gospel ministry among them. It was a favorable circumstance for them, while their late divisions were not yet entirely healed, that their attention was excited by the prospect of obtaining for their minister, a man of great eminence in that day, who in some respects resembled their former pastor. That man was the Rev. Joshua Moody of Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, then called Piscataway.

New Hampshire, less favored in its origin than the other New England colonies, was at that time subject to a royal governor,—a creature of King James II, practicing, in the four towns of New Hampshire, the same violations of right and liberty, which his master was practicing on a grander scale in England. To such a governor, the pastor of Portsmouth had become greatly obnoxious, by the fearless freedom of his preaching, and by his resoluteness in maintaining a strictly Congregational church discipline. A member of his Church was strongly suspected of having taken a false oath, in a matter relating to the seizure and escape of a vessel. The man thus charged with perjury, was able in some way to pacify the governor and the collector; but in the Church, the supposed offense was made a subject of investigation. Mr. Moody, as pastor, requested of Cranfield, the

governor, copies of the evidence which had been taken in the case by the government. The governor not only refused this request, but declared that the man having been forgiven by him, should not be called to account by any body else, and threatened the pastor with vengeance if he dared to proceed in the matter. But Mr. Moody did not believe that the right of a Christian Church to inspect the conduct of its own members, or the duty of a Church to execute discipline upon offenders, depended on the will of governors or kings; and to him the wrath of Cranfield was a small matter in comparison with the reproaches of his own conscience, or the displeasure of God. Having consulted his Church, he preached a sermon on the sin of perjury; and then the offender was tried, found guilty, and at last, by God's blessing upon the ordinance of church discipline, brought to repentance and a public confession. The governor, indignant at this manly proceeding, had yet no way to execute his threat of vengeance but by some indirect method. He accordingly made an order, that all the ministers within the province, should admit all persons of suitable age, and not vicious in their lives, to the Lord's supper, and their children to baptism; and that if any person should desire to have these sacraments administered according to the liturgy of the Church of England, his desire should be complied with. The minister who should refuse obedience to this order, was to incur the same penalties as if he were in England and a minister there of the established church. Cranfield's next step was, without any loss of time, to send a written message to Mr. Moody, by the hands of the sheriff, signifying that he and two of his friends intended to partake of the Lord's supper the next Sunday, and requiring that it be administered to them according to the liturgy. To this demand, Mr. Moody returned the prompt denial which was expected; and the consequence was, that for the double offense of refusing to conform to the order of the liturgy, and of refusing to profane the Lord's supper by administering it to such men as Cranfield and his minions, he was prosecuted, convicted and

imprisoned. For thirteen weeks he remained in close confinement; and he was then released only under a strict charge to preach no more within the province, and a threat of farther imprisonment if he should.*

During the progress of this controversy at Portsmouth, the Church here "had intelligence from some friends, that Mr. Moody was attainable if he were looked after." Thereupon the Church considering Mr. Moody to be "a man, by report, singularly fit for the ministry," "wrote a letter to be conveyed to him by Mr. Whiting of Hartford." At the next town meeting, which was on the 17th of March, 1684, the town was informed of these proceedings, by deputy governor Bishop, and "their concurrence in the matter, to procure Master Moody if he can be had," was requested. It was stated that, as at the latest intelligence he was known to be a prisoner, and as it was doubtful whether the letter had reached him before his imprisonment, the Church had thought convenient to send a messenger, and in this proceeding desired the town's "loving concurrence, and that there might be unity and peace." "I hope," said Gov. Bishop, "we shall all agree, and desire an able ministry in this place for the good of our souls, as it is hoped that this man may be such a one." "Mr. Jones also spake much to the same effect, to do things in peace, and to get up to our former state and purity, which we had in the time of Mr. Davenport, especially. He also acquainted the town with a letter he received from Mr. Whiting, respecting Mr. Moody." After debate, and some objection to the expense of sending a messenger "so far, at uncertainties," it was agreed to concur with the Church in inviting Mr. Moody to come as a minister to this place, and to commit it to the Church to send to him either by a messenger or by a letter.†

The Church, thus empowered by the town, sent Mr. Jones, who was one of their most eminent men, and Mr. James Heaton, who was the son in law of their former minister, Mr.

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* Belknap, Hist. of New Hampshire, I, 204. † Town Records.

Street, as their messengers to treat with Mr. Moody. The result was, that Mr. Moody, having seen one of the messengers at Portsmouth about the time of his release from prison, in the month of May, and having afterwards conferred with both of them at Boston at the time of the election there, declined the invitation, because he still felt himself bound to his former people, and "would try the providence of God, if he might not preach near them, and they have liberty to hear him."

The negotiation with Mr. Moody being thus terminated, the messengers, at the advice of several ministers in Boston, and of other friends, went so far beyond their commission as to make an application to Mr. James Pierpont to come and preach as a candidate for the pastoral office. Mr. Pierpont was then about twenty five years of age. He had graduated less than three years before, at Harvard College. But it is evident that, notwithstanding his youth, he was regarded as competent to the work of the ministry in any of the Churches of New England.

Mr. Jones and Mr. Heaton, the messengers of the Church, having returned, made a statement of the results of their mission, at a town meeting, on the 9th of June. They informed the town that Mr. Pierpont, upon their proposal, and the advice and encouragement of his friends, "had engaged to come, and be here the first Sabbath in August next. Mr. Jones also informed, that the report they had of Mr. Pierpont was, that he was a godly man, a good scholar, a man of good parts, and likely to make a good instrument:—also, that they had agreed with him to send a man to come up with him, and a horse for him to ride up upon." After "a large debate," the doings of the messengers were harmoniously ratified.*

Accordingly, in the month of August, the young candidate made his appearance. At the town meeting in September, Deacon Peck appeared in behalf of the Church. Having alluded to their sorrowful and afflicted state, in being so

* Town Records.

long destitute of pastoral ministrations, and to the failure of former efforts, he adverted to the fact that another man, "and he hoped he might say of God's sending," was then with them. The Church, he said, were well satisfied with this man, and were desirous "that the town would concur with them in encouraging him, and that there might be a maintenance provided, he being at Mrs. Davenport's to his content."* A great recommendation of the candidate was,—"He is a man of peace, and desires peace in Church and town, and would rejoice to hear of it, and that there may be no after-troubles." The Deacon went on to say, "The Church hath had some consideration of differences that have been in the Church, and do see that there have been missings and swervings from the rule, and will own them before the Lord, and to that end have agreed to keep a day of fasting and prayer in the public congregation, wherein to confess our sins before God, and beg pardon, and to seek his favor, and that his presence would be with them as in the former times. They hoped the town would willingly join with them in keeping the day, to humble our souls before the Lord." It was also desired "that the town would declare their concurrence by their agreement, and now appoint some persons as their committee, to go to Mr. Pierpont to encourage his settlement with us, that the Lord may return again to us in a settled ministry, for the good of us, our families, and of posterity."

Mr. Jones followed with similar remarks. "It was true that since God took from us our teaching officers, we have had our miscarriages. And the Church hath lately met, and reflected on things and times past, and do see that they have dishonored God, and hindered the good of our neighbors, and, as Deacon Peck hath informed you, have made preparation for a solemn day of prayer, and to acknowledge that which hath been grievous to others, or stumbling to any;

* This Mrs. Davenport was widow of the son of the first pastor,—daughter of Rev. Abraham Pierson of Branford,—sister of the first Rector of Yale College,—and mother of Rev. John Davenport of Stamford.

and have desired the town to join with them, in their prayer to God, that he would pardon our sins, and be with us in settling the present instrument. And he doubted not but that the grounds for keeping [the fast] agreed upon, would be satisfying to all; so that we may hope for God's presence and blessing on the ministry, for the good of all concerned. God is about a great work in the world, and hath guided Mr. Pierpont to preach those things that are suitable. And if God give the Church and town to go on together, it will be a great means."

The conclusion of the matter, "after some moderate debate," was, that the town appointed "Mr. William Jones, John Nash, Dea. William Peck, Mr. John Hodson, and Mr. Thomas Trowbridge," to go to Mr. Pierpont as their committee, "to congratulate and give him thanks for his love in coming to us, and [to assure him that] they did well accept his labors in preaching the gospel, and have found that God hath been, and hope will be with him, and do desire his going on in that work, that the Church and himself may have such experience and trial of each other, [as] to proceed in convenient time to settle in office in the Church in this place, if it may be the good will of God."*

All these proceedings were not the only preliminaries to the settlement of Mr. Pierpont. At a meeting on the 6th of January, it was agreed, that a home-lot and house and other lands should be provided for Mr. Pierpont, on condition of his settling in office in the Church. The means of building the house were to be obtained by voluntary contributions. The magistrates and townsmen were made a committee to obtain the necessary funds, to plan the house according to the funds raised, and to oversee the building. The necessary amount was pledged in money, materials and labor, without difficulty or delay. On the 30th of January, the plan of the house was ready, and was ordered to be submitted to Mr. Pierpont for his approbation. The lot was purchased, and

* Town Records.

the building was immediately commenced. When it was finished, it was one of the most commodious and stately dwellings in the town. For more than a century, it stood a monument of the public spirit of the generation by whose voluntary contributions it was erected. As the people were bringing in their free-will offerings of one kind and another, to complete and furnish the building, one man desiring to do something for the object, and having nothing else to offer, brought on his shoulder from the farms two little elm saplings, and planted them before the door of the minister's house. Under their shade, some forty years afterwards, Jonathan Edwards—then soon to take rank, in the intellectual world, with Locke and Leibnitz—spoke words of mingled love and piety in the ear of Sarah Pierpont.* Under their shade, when some sixty summers had passed over them, Whitefield stood on a platform, and lifted up that voice, the tones of which lingered so long in thousands of hearts. One of them is still standing, the tallest and most venerable of all the trees in this city of elms, and ever the first to be tinged with green at the return of spring.†

The ordination of Mr. Pierpont took place on the second day of July, 1685,‡ after he had been with the people about eleven months as a candidate. The great number of baptisms which are recorded as following very rapidly after his ordination, makes it probable that at that time the "halfway covenant" principle, which had been recommended by the synod of 1662, and to oppose which, in Boston, where it originated, Mr. Davenport had relinquished his ministry here,—was introduced into this Church. Yet by what act of the Church such a change was introduced, by what considerations, or by whose influence, the Church was led to adopt

* For an illustration of this remark, see Dwight's Life of Edwards, 114.

† The tree stands before the mansion of the late Judge Bristol, in Elm street. I am obliged to add, that investigations made since this discourse was written, have thrown some doubt upon the *time* when the tree was planted, though still it is undoubtedly the oldest in the city.

‡ Church Records.

so great an innovation, the imperfection of our church records does not permit us to know. It may be presumed, that, as Mr. Pierpont came from Massachusetts, where the views of the synod had entirely prevailed, and where no less a man than Increase Mather, who at first wrote ably against the synod, had yielded to the compound force of numbers and of arguments, and had gone over to the prevailing opinion,—his influence was not exerted against the introduction of the halfway covenant here.

The erection of a new meeting-house had been resolved upon in the year 1668, immediately after Mr. Davenport's removal to Boston; and the edifice, after some delays, had been finished in 1670.* But very soon after the ordination

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* At a town meeting, 7th Sept. 1668, "the town was acquainted that the committee for the meeting-house had agreed with Nathan Andrews to build a new meeting-house for £300, and he to have the old meeting-house; against which no man objected." A year afterwards, it was "ordered that if Nathan Andrews need help for the carrying on of the work of the new meeting-house according to agreement, there shall be liberty to press such help as is necessary for that end." At a meeting, 14th March, 1670, "the town was informed that the occasion of this meeting was in reference to the new meeting-house, it going on but slowly;" and a tax was laid to expedite the work. On the 15th of April, the builder, Nathan Andrews, made a communication which seems to have resulted in some modification of the contract; and it was resolved to borrow £50 of the trustees of the Grammar School, "to be repaid at or before this time twelvemonth." On the 3d of October, "the committee appointed for the seating of the people in the new meeting-house, informed the town that they had prepared something that way for a present trial, which was now read to the town." On the 14th of November, the old meeting-house was ordered to be sold "to the town's best advantage."

In April, 1681, "there being a bell brought in a vessel into the harbor, it was spoken of, and generally it was desired it might be procured for the town; and for the present it was desired that Mr. Thomas Trowbridge would, if he can, prevail with Mr. Hodge, the owner of it, to leave it with him until the town hath had some further consideration about it." In August, "the owner of the bell had sent to have it brought to the Bay in Joseph Alsop's vessel;" "and it having lain so long, it would not be handsome for the town to put it off." Thereupon, "after a free and large debate," it was voted that the bell be purchased. The price was £17. In April, 1682, the town was informed that the bell was now "hanged in the turret;" and in November, the townsmen "had agreed with George Pardee for his son Joseph to ring the bell for the town's occasions on the Sabbaths and other meetings, as it

of Mr. Pierpont, the number of attendants on public worship was found to be so great, that enlarged accommodations were necessary. The first step was, to fill up some empty places with seats; that being found insufficient, the galleries were brought forward, so as to make room for one additional seat in front of each gallery. Ten years afterwards, it was determined to enlarge the house itself; but the determination was not carried into effect till two years later.

In the year 1697, another great change was made in the mode of supporting the ministry. After the support of the ministry was transferred, in 1677, from the Church to the town, it had been customary, from year to year, to grant a tax, or rate, of one, two or three pence in the pound, "for the encouragement of the ministry;" and the avails of this tax, whether more or less, belonged to the minister or ministers for the time being. But now a regular salary was proposed; and "after a long debate, the town, by their vote, granted to pay the Rev. Mr. James Pierpont annually, while he shall preach the word of God to us, the sum of £120 in grain and flesh," at fixed prices, "also to supply him with fire-wood annually." This vote being communicated to Mr. Pierpont, he answered that he approved of it and accepted it, "until the providence of God should bring his family into such circumstances as that the salary would not support him in laboring at the altar." "I accept it," he said, "the more willingly, because I understand the offering is made with a general cheerfulness, wherein God himself is well pleased, provided that due care be taken that this offering be brought into the house of God without lameness, or reflections on the ministry in the respective years." The hint which he thought proper to give in accepting the grant, was not an unwise one. The minister under the former methods of support, received from year to year, just what the people chose to give him.

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was wont to be by the drum, and also to ring the bell at nine of the clock every night." The town bell was to be sent to England in 1686, to be new cast and made bigger for the town's use. Mr. Simon Eyre offered to carry it out and back freight-free.

They must of course give cheerfully. He had no legal claim upon them. They had made no contract with him. Whatever they gave was simply "for his encouragement," and was the free expression of their confidence and love.

One of the first persons received byMr. Pierpont to the full communion of the Church, was an aged man, known here by the name of James Davids. He had come to this place not far from the time of Mr. Davenport's removal. There was that in his dress and manners, in his great acquaintance with the public affairs of England and of Europe, and in his obvious desire of retirement, which led several of the most intelligent persons in the town to regard him, from the first, as one of those whom the restoration of the monarchy had made exiles from England, and whom their pastor had exhorted them beforehand to shelter and protect. Mr. Jones, in particular, recognized him as one of King Charles' judges, whom, in his youth, he had often seen in London and Westminster; but with him, of whose fidelity Whalley and Goffe had made so full an experiment, the perilous secret was safe. The retired stranger, who had his lodgings with Mr. Ling, received much of the confidence of those who became acquainted with him. He was twice married; by his first wife, the widow of his friend Ling, he acquired a house and a considerable property. He attended to some little business, which gave him the title of a merchant, and sometimes he aided in the settlement of estates. Mr. Street named him as one of his executors.* He was greatly and generally respected, not only for his intelligence, but for his piety. After his death, when another revolution in England had placed William and Mary on the throne, it became generally known that the equivocal initials on his grave-stone, "J. D. Esq." designated the last resting place of John Dixwell the regicide.†

In no respect, did the ministry of Mr. Pierpont disappoint the expectations which had been formed concerning him in

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* Probate Records. † Stiles, 125—167.

his youth. Under his pastoral care, the people were at peace among themselves. As his prudence and amiableness, when he first came among them, were the means of bringing them together after long continued and painful divisions, they could not but regard him as a benefactor; and, through all his ministry, they gave him their full confidence and hearty veneration. Their is no reason to doubt, that while he labored here, there was in the Church much of true and living piety. We have not indeed so many striking accounts of individuals in that day, as we have of those in the preceding age; but we know that the piety of the first generation could not be extinct in the second. We know too, that though declension had commenced throughout New England, there were spirits every where that bewailed the declension, and hungered and thirsted for the days of old.

The progressive religious declension of those times, the worst effects of which were felt a few years later, resulted from various causes, some of which we shall do well to notice.

1. There had now been formed more of a union of Church and State, than had existed at the beginning. At first, the Church was independent of the State, though the State was not entirely independent of the Church. But now the ministers of the gospel being supported by the towns in their civil capacity, and the government taking upon itself more and more the care not only of morals, but of religion and religious reformation, religion was becoming secularized. There was continually less dependence upon God, and the power of the truth, to make men holy, and more dependence upon the civil magistrate, to make them put on the form of godliness.

2. The operation of the half-way covenant system was doing away the visible distinction between the Church and the world, and continually diminishing that conviction of the necessity of spiritual religion, which the old Puritans left so strongly impressed upon the minds of the people. Under this system, there was a class of men, making no pretension at all to any experience of the renewing influences of God's

grace, and entirely neglecting the communion of the Lord's table, who were yet religious enough to be in covenant with God and with his people, and to give their children to God in baptism.

3. That sort of theology in which the half-way covenant system had, in part, its origin, was continually exerting, unobserved, an influence unfavorable to spiritual religion. There is a sort of theology, nearly allied in its shape and statements to the truth, and ever ready to creep into orthodox Churches while men sleep, which, while it recognizes in form the necessity of spiritual renovation, feels that the unregenerate man is not to be blamed much for being unregenerate merely, or at least forgets that the sin of living without God and without a vital union to Christ, is the root and essence of all other sins, and is itself the very sin which brings the wrath of God forever upon him who does not forsake it. That theology which,—feeling that if the natural man uses the means of grace, and keeps within the bounds of outward morality and good order, he is doing all, or about all that he can do,—hesitates to urge home upon him the practicability and duty of immediate reconciliation to God, is ever fruitful in expedients to make matters easy with those well educated and respectable people, who love the world and the things that are in the world, more than they love God. Such theology had crept into New England before the synod of 1662. Such theology is the basis of its famous propositions touching the subjects of baptism, and of every argument that was urged in defense of the scheme. In opposition to all those arguments, Mr. Davenport maintained that "worldly mindedness whereby men forsake and reject God and his covenant, to serve the world," was of itself an offense sufficient to debar all half-way covenanters from offering their children in baptism. "The religion of such," said he, "is no better than that of the Shechemites who took upon them the religion of the Jews, and were circumcised, only for worldly ends."* In the same strain, his good colleague, Mr.

* Another Essay, &c., 24.

Street, argued, "that such as have been baptized in the Church, and have lived under precious means and great light, until they are married and have children, and all this while have neglected the main thing that doth concern them, which is, to believe, and upon their believing, personally and for themselves to take hold of the covenant, are under very great sin and offense,"* sufficient to exclude them, notwithstanding their own baptism in infancy, from all Church privileges. The operation of the half-way covenant was, to propagate and confirm the bad theology in which it originated; and that bad theology, as it grew, promoted religious declension. It was indeed as Mr. Street said, "an uncouth way, and very unpleasant divinity."

4. Besides the demoralizing effect of Indian wars, noticed in another connection, there was the constant excitement of great political agitations and changes, and the constant fear of losing all their dearly acquired liberties. These excitements and fears occupied the minds of the people, and combined with other influences to hinder the prosperity of religion. After the restoration of the monarchy, the whole British empire was, for a long course of years, in a state of alarm and distrust, and in the almost constant expectation of great and disastrous changes. Towards the close of the reign of King Charles II, the government made an attack on all the great municipal corporations of the kingdom, hating them as citadels of protestantism, and as examples of that freedom which it was determined to suppress. The charter of the city of London, after a formal trial and a most able defense, was taken away and declared to be forfeited, by a judgment of the court of king's bench. Most of the other great towns of England, in like manner, fell before the march of usurpation. Their charters were resumed; their democratic privileges were annihilated; and they became, by the new constitutions that were given them, mere dependencies of the king.

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* Considerations, &c., 68.

All this while, Edward Randolph, the steady and inveterate enemy of New England, was indefatigable in his efforts to destroy by the same process the charters of the colonies. What days of fear were those for the people of New England! If their charters were taken away,—if they were reduced to that abject dependence on the crown, to which their enemies designed to bring them, every thing that they loved and valued would be gone, and the great ends for which these colonies were planted would be defeated. Meanwhile all minds were perplexed, and all hearts troubled, with tales of popish plots, and the dread of popish ascendency.

In 1684, the base, profligate, traitorous Charles II, died, seeking at the hands of popish priests some consolation amid the terrors of his death bed. He was succeeded by James II, his brother, a little less profligate, and not a little less pliable, who had been for years a conscientious, and therefore a bigotted papist. Immediately a new government was appointed over Massachusetts, the charter of that colony having been taken away by a judicial sentence. In December, 1686, Sir Edmund Andross, who had previously been governor of New York, and who in that capacity had been known as of an arbitrary and selfish temper, landed at Boston with a commission from James II, as governor of New England; and soon Massachusetts began to know what it was to be governed by a tyrant. Randolph was made censor of the press. Nothing could be printed but with his license. The people were threatened that none but Episcopal ministers should be allowed to join persons in marriage. One of the meeting houses in Boston was occupied, against the remonstrance of those who owned it, for the service of the Church of England. The appointment of a day of public prayer, by several Churches in concert, was interfered with by the governor, who told them that they should meet at their peril, and that his soldiers should guard the doors of their meeting houses, to keep them away. The witness in a court, was compelled to swear by the superstitious and unbecoming form of kissing a book; and any that scrupled the lawfulness of so doing,

were fined and imprisoned. There was but one judge of probate for the whole province, and he the governor, by whom, and by his clerks, the most exorbitant fees were exacted. All deeds and titles to land were held to be of no value; and every man who had a farm or a house, must acquire a new title from the governor, which was not to be had without paying for it roundly.

In Connecticut, however, the free government under the charter continued for nearly a year after the arrival of Andross. But on the 31st of October, 1687, the General Assembly of the colony being in session at Hartford, Sir Edmund Andross appeared at the head of a company of regular soldiers, and demanded their charter, declaring the government under it to be dissolved. The governor at that time was Robert Treat, of Milford,* who had with great bravery and ability commanded the forces of the colony in the war with Philip. He replied to the demand of Andross; he represented the labors, and sufferings, and the expense, by which the colonists had acquired and planted the country, and the blood and treasure by which they had defended it; he adverted to what he had himself done and suffered; he spoke of the pain with which they must surrender privileges, so dearly bought, and so long enjoyed. Evening stole over the Assembly, while the debate was prolonged. The invaluable charter,—invaluable to them in their weakness and inability to assert their inalienable liberties,—was brought in, and laid upon the table, soon to be formally surrendered. A multitude of the people had assembled, and were beholding, with stern countenances, that sad spectacle, the extinction of their liberty. Suddenly the lights are extinguished; there is no confusion, no rush of the multitude, no uproar,—but when, after a moment of darkness, the candles are lighted again, the charter has vanished. No discovery could be made of it,

* The fact is creditable to the old New Haven colony, that it gave to Connecticut two governors in succession, after the death of Gov. Winthrop. The two were Leete, and Treat.

or of the hands by which it had been carried away.* Andross, unable to clutch the precious document, was obliged to content himself with the simple suppression of the free government, and a declaration that the colony was annexed to Massachusetts. His procedure was formally entered in the records, and "FINIS" was written at the bottom. Then Connecticut came under the same rule with New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Plymouth. Randolph in one of his letters boasted, that Andross and his council "were as arbitrary as the great Turk." Every thing was done on the principle that the spoils belong to the victors; and all who saw the paralysis of industry and enterprise, and the gloom that settled down upon so many villages, felt that "when the wicked beareth rule the people mourn."†

But in April, 1689, two years and a half after the arrival of Andross, the intelligence came to Boston, that William, the prince of Orange, had landed in England to restore the ancient liberties of the people. Immediately, without waiting to know the success of that enterprise, the people of Boston and the vicinity rose in arms, seized the royal governor and his secretary, put them in prison, and called their old governor and his council to resume the government. On the ninth of May, at the usual time of the general election at Hartford, the charter came forth from its concealment in the old oak before the Wyllys house; and the free government of Connecticut was reestablished as before the interruption.

Amid such fluctuations and alarms,—such excitements of fear and hope in regard to secular and civil interests,—how

* The charter was carried away and concealed by Capt. Wadsworth of Hartford. After the revolution in England, and the accession of William and Mary, as the charter of Connecticut had never been formally surrendered, and as no judgment had been given in any court of law against it, it was still valid; and while Massachusetts was obliged to obtain a new charter with limited privileges, Connecticut has ever enjoyed, (with the sole interruption of nineteen months under Andross,) the powers of self-government, as perfectly as at this moment.

† Trumbull, I, 355—375. Dr. Trumbull's account of the usurpation of Andross, is one of the ablest passages in his two volumes.

could religion be expected so to revive, as to throw off the oppression of other incumbrances?

In those days of slow but sure declension in morals and religion, the pastor here was not wanting in faithfulness or in wisdom. He was greatly respected in the colony, and was among the foremost of the ministers in every undertaking for the common welfare of the churches.

In 1692, the ministers of this county united in proposing to the several towns a lecture to be carried on in the several towns, the great object of which was, "to further religion and reformation in these declining times."* In the same year, we find that there was a quarterly meeting of the ministers for some public purpose, which Mr. Pierpont was to attend, and in attending upon which he was to be provided with a man and horse at the town's charge.

The efforts at reformation in that age, throughout New England, seem to have been characterized by too much reli-

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* The entire record of the proceedings of the New Haven town meeting in respect to the proposal for a lecture, deserves to be copied; for it illustrates both the state of morals, and the expedients adopted for promoting reformation.

"At an adjournment of the town meeting, the 2d day of May, 1692.

"A proposal in writing, presented from the Rev. Elders of this county, for a lecture to be carried on in the several towns, was read and thankfully accepted, and the conditions thereof well approved: and accordingly [it was] by the town seriously recommended to the authority, town officers, and heads of families, to take the utmost care they can to prevent all disorders, especially on lecture days; and particularly, that there be no horse-racings on such days, it being a great disorder. And the heads of families are also to take care that none of their children or servants be allowed or suffered to frequent the ordinary or ordinaries, or any private houses for tippling, neither with strangers or others, on such lecture days, upon penalty of the law.

"The town unanimously voted the above written as their mind, and desired their hearty thanks to be returned to the Rev. Elders for their pious and great care to further religion and reformation among us, IN THESE DECLINING TIMES. Voted *nemine contradicente*."

Young people making their attendance on the services of a lecture day a pretext for horse-racing and tippling! And this so common, that the proposal to set up a new lecture must needs be guarded by proceedings in town meeting "to prevent disorders!" No wonder they talked with emphasis of "these declining times."

ance on the formal movements of public bodies, whether religious, as synods, councils and Churches, or secular, as legislatures, county courts and town meetings; and by too little dependence on the power of God in the spiritual renovation of individuals. The "reforming synod" of 1679, with the expedients which it recommended—the many similar efforts by smaller conventions of ministers—the orders of courts and magistrates for the suppression of vice, or for the promotion of religion and reformation—the setting up of lectures—the votes of towns—and most of all, the efforts to get every body "within the reach of ecclesiastical discipline"—were of little avail. Good men saw the progressive declension, and bewailed it; but there was no reviving and restoring energy.*

In the year 1698, Mr. Pierpont, in connection with the Rev. Mr. Andrew of Milford and the Rev. Mr. Russel of Branford, concerted the plan of founding a college;† or rather they revived the design which lay so long upon the heart of Davenport, and upon which he expended so many earnest efforts, but the completion of which it was not given him to see in this world. There can be no doubt that those three men, contriving the establishment of a college for Connecticut, intended that it should be established in New Haven; but they were magnanimous and wise enough not to connect the design, at its first proposal, with any particular location. By much deliberation among themselves, and much consultation with others in various parts of the colony, their plan was gradually matured; and in the course of the following year,

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* See Mather's whole chapter on the Reforming Synod. Magn. Book V, Part IV. See also Trumbull, I, 467. A specimen of the interference of county courts with expedients for religious reformation, is found in the New Haven County Records, under the date of Nov. 8, 1676.

"The County Court, being sensible of a hopeful advantage to the furtherance of religion and reformation, by settling an able lecture where it might be aptest and of the greatest concourse to attend the same, do recommend it, and desire the Rev. Mr. Elliot to begin a monthly lecture at New Haven the first Wednesday in March next, and so continue until this Court shall appoint some other to succeed."

† Trumbull, I, 473.

ten of the principal ministers in the colony were designated by the common consent of those most interested, to stand as trustees for founding and governing the institution. In 1700, those ministers met in this place, and formally organized themselves into a body or society to found a college in Connecticut. The institution thus begun was temporarily placed at Saybrook, and had no settled habitation till it was removed to this place in the year 1716.*

The activity of Mr. Pierpont, as one of the original trustees of Yale College, is evident not only from the early records of the institution, but also from letters written to him by the agent for the colony in London, whose good offices he had secured in aid of that favorite undertaking. His influence seems to have been employed, in directing towards the college the regards of that benefactor, whose name it has made immortal.†

In 1708, a synod, or general council of the Churches of Connecticut, was held at the College in Saybrook, by order of the legislature, for the purpose of forming a system that should better secure the ends of church discipline, and the benefits of communion among the Churches. The meeting

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* Kingsley's History of Yale College.

† The following paragraph is part of a letter to Mr. Pierpont, by Jeremiah Dummer, Jun., then agent in London for the colony of Connecticut. The date is "London, 22d May, 1711."

"Here is Mr. Yale, formerly Governor of Fort George in the Indies, who has got a prodigious estate, and now by Mr. Dixwell sends for a relation of his from Connecticut to make him his heir, having no son. He told me lately, that he intended to bestow a charity upon some college in Oxford, under certain restrictions which he mentioned. But I think he should much rather do it to your college, seeing he is a New England and I think a Connecticut man. If therefore when his kinsman comes over, you will write him a proper letter on that subject, I will take care to press it home."

In another letter, 23d January, 1712, he speaks of begging for College, and of having "got together a pretty parcel of books."

In another letter, dated Whitehall, 3d May, 1713, he says, "The library I am collecting for your College comes on well. Sir Richard Blackmore (to whom I delivered the committee's letter) brought me, in his own chariot, all his works, in four volumes folio; and Mr. Yale has done something, though very little considering his estate and his relation to the colony."

of that synod marks an important era in our ecclesiastical history.

For a long time, indeed from the first, there had been in New England some influential ministers,* who disliked what was deemed the looseness and inefficiency of Congregationalism, and were solicitous to introduce, as fast as the people would bear it, something more like the Presbyterian system. Not a few political men too, were in favor of some departure from the primitive platform, which did not seem to work well, while all were seeking to complete the alliance between the Churches and the State. And in truth simple Congregationalism is, in its nature, very difficult to be wrought into a convenient and compact ecclesiastical establishment. Where each particular Church is recognized as a complete and self-subsistent body, with no constitution but the Bible, and no legislation over it but that of Jesus Christ, it is no easy matter to reduce the Churches into a complete subjection to the civil power, or to incorporate the ecclesiastical organization with the organization of the commonwealth. Protracted experience had taught the leading politicians of Connecticut, that their legislative intermeddlings with ecclesiastical quarrels, whether local or general, whether by clerical councils or by lay committees, was of little avail. The religious establishment of the colony,—the propriety or policy of which, in the abstract, no man called in question,—was felt to be defective without another ecclesiastical constitution.

At the same time, it is true that the system under which the Churches had been organized was in some respects imperfect. The communion and mutual helpfulness of the Churches was not adequately secured. Light is obtained by conference, and love is promoted by fraternal consultation; but there had been no provision for the stated consultation of ministers with each other, in order to their mutual improvement; nor was there sufficient opportunity for Churches

* Mr. Parker and Mr. Noyes, the first pastor and teacher of the Church in Newbury, were decided in favor of the Presbyterian discipline.

to confer together by their officers and messengers, on matters of common interest, in order to their seeing alike and acting harmoniously. There was no uniform method of introducing candidates for the ministry, to the work of preaching for the trial of their qualifications. When a young man aspiring to the sacred office had finished his studies at College, he was commonly introduced into the pulpit first by his own pastor, or his instructor, or some other friend, and gradually found his way to the acquaintance and confidence of the Churches, without any formal examination, or any certificate of approbation from an organized body of ministers. Such a way, however it might answer the purpose when the country was new, was not suited to the wants of the community at a more advanced period.

Of the synod at Saybrook, Mr. Pierpont was a leading member. The "Articles for the administration of Church Discipline," which were adopted as the result of the synod, and which constitute the so famous "Saybrook Platform," are said to have been drawn up by him.* By the order of the legislature, the ministers and delegates in each county, at the preliminary meeting at which their representatives were to be chosen for the General Council, were "to consider and agree upon those methods and rules for the management of ecclesiastical discipline, which by them should be judged conformable to the word of God;" and the duty of the General Council was, to "compare the results of the ministers of the several counties, and out of and from them to draw a form of ecclesiastical discipline." The "Articles," by whomsoever penned, were obviously a compromise between the Presbyterian interest and the Congregational; and like most compromises, they were (I do not say by design) of doubtful interpretation. Interpreted by a Presbyterian, they might seem to subject the Churches completely to the

* Stiles, Serm. on Chris. Union, 70. See also Dwight, Life of Ed., 113, where it is also stated, that Mr. Pierpont read lectures to the students in Yale College, as professor of Moral Philosophy. This is possible, though the College was not removed from Saybrook till after Mr. Pierpont's death. A son of his, bearing the same name, was tutor from 1722 to 1724.

authoritative government of classes or presbyteries, under the name of consociations. Interpreted by a Congregationalist, they might seem to provide for nothing more than a stated council, in which neighboring Churches, voluntarily confederate, should consult together, and the proper function of which should be not to speak imperatively, but, when regularly called, to "hold forth light" in cases of difficulty or perplexity. The Churches, though they gradually came into the arrangement, were jealous of it; and in this county, where the influence of Davenport in favor of the simplest and purest Congregationalism was still felt, they refused to adopt the Platform till they had put upon record their strict construction of it.* For the first half century or more, the Saybrook Platform made more quarrels than it healed. But in later years, the Congregational construction of its articles having become established by general usage, its working has been in a high degree salutary. Under this system, more than under any other, ministers and Churches are continually promoting each other's peace and strength.†

Mr. Pierpont died in the midst of his usefulness, on the 14th of November, 1714, at the age of fifty five years. His grave is one of those which are covered by this edifice.‡

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* Records of Consociation.

† The history of the synod of Saybrook is given by Trumbull, in its details, I, 478—488.

‡ Mr. Pierpont was of the younger branch of a noble family in England. It is believed, though the necessary legal proof appears to be wanting, that his son was the heir to the estates, and the now extinct title, of the earls of Kingston. Mr. P. married Abigail Davenport, a grand-daughter of his predecessor in the pastoral office, on the 27th of October, 1691. A little more than three months afterwards, on the 3d of February, his wife was taken from him by death. She died, as tradition tells us, of a consumption caused by exposure to the cold on the Sabbath after her wedding, going to meeting according to the fashion of the time in her bridal dress. Two years afterwards, he was married at Hartford to Sarah Haynes, a grand-daughter of Governor Haynes, "by Lt. Col. Allen, Assistant, the 30th May, 1694." On the 7th of October, 1696, he was again bereaved. His second wife left one daughter, who bore the name of his first wife. He was married to Mary Hooker, a grand-daughter of the first pastor in Hartford, on the 26th July, 1698. This lady, who survived him till November, 1740, was the mother of several children, one of whom, Sarah, became at an early age the wife of Jonathan Edwards, and was truly "a help meet for him."

That he was greatly distinguished and highly honored in his day, is sufficiently manifest. His particular friend, Cotton Mather, says of him in the preface to a sermon which he had preached at Boston, in Mather's pulpit, and which was published at the request of the hearers,—He "has been a rich blessing to the Church of God." "New Haven values him; all Connecticut honors him. They have cause to do it." That we are not able to form so lively an idea of him as of Davenport, is partly because his life was shorter, and was less involved in scenes of conflict, and partly, no doubt, because his nature and the early discipline of Divine providence, had less fitted him to make himself conspicuous by the originality and energy of his character, and to leave his image stamped with ineffaceable distinctness on the records of his times.

In the pulpit, Mr. Pierpont was distinguished among his cotemporaries. His personal appearance was altogether prepossessing. He was eminent in the gift of prayer.* His doctrine was sound and discriminating; and his style was clear, lively and impressive, without any thing of the affected quaintness which characterized some of the most eminent men of that day.

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* If the following sentence in one of Dummer's letters to Mr. Pierpont, be called a compliment, it should be remembered that Dummer would not be likely to make such a compliment at random. "That little composure of Mr. Henry's about prayer, I the rather pitched upon, because he is as renowned for his gift in prayer in Great Britain, as I know you have always been in New England."

In President Stiles' Literary Diary, (MS.) Sept. 25, 1777, I find the following: "Rev. Daniel Rogers, æt. 70 *et supra* told me, it was remarked of Mr. Cobbet, anciently a minister of Ipswich, (Mr. Rogers' native place,) that he was eminent for *free prayer*—that the first ministers of New England, though they did not pray *ex libro*, yet went into each one his own form which he pursued with but little variation: and that it was a remark, that the ministers of this century, and the present pastors, surpassed those of the last century with respect to free prayer. But I think for clear evangelical divinity they do not equal them."

Cotton Mather gives, somewhere, a similar testimony; but I am not able, now, to turn to the passage.

The only specimen of his preaching that remains to us, is the published sermon already mentioned. That sermon is from the text, (Psalm cxix, 116,) "Uphold me according to thy word, that I may live; and let me not be ashamed of my hope;" and, though it falls short of the originality and intellectual vigor which mark the performances of Davenport, it proves sufficiently that its author's eminence was not accidental. It discusses one of the most common, though ever one of the most serious and interesting subjects,—"False hopes of heaven;" and the views which it presents, are the same views which are habitually urged upon you. That you may judge for yourselves as to the matter and style of his preaching, I transcribe a few passages.

"Whatever other regards we bear and manifest to Jesus Christ, this only and mighty Savior, if we have not faith in him, the root of our hope as well as other graces, all our flourishing hopes of a future happiness will fall and fly from us, as leaves in autumn. Nothing can be more express and positive, than what the Author of everlasting life has with his own sacred lips uttered, John, iii, 36: 'He that believeth not the Son, shall not see life: but the wrath of God abideth on him.' The tremendous effusion of divine wrath is suspended for a few fleeting, uncertain moments; when they are run out, it shall be inevitably showered down upon every one that believeth not in the name of the only begotten Son of God. See also, John, viii, 24: 'For if ye believe not that I am he, ye shall die in your sins;' and so die without hope, perish for ever, in the want of a Christ, and faith in him. You may observe what the great apostle of the Gentiles most plainly and solemnly offers on this head, 2 Cor. xiii, 5: 'Examine yourselves, whether ye be in the faith; prove your own selves: Know ye not your own selves?' (q. d. ye know nothing as Christians, if ye know not this great truth,) 'how that Christ Jesus is in you,' (viz. by faith, apprehending him, and deriving grace and strength from him into your souls,) 'except ye be reprobates:' i. e. in the state of the ungodly, and

in the way that leads to final despair and everlasting destruction."

"Great hazards are much to be feared, and imminent dangers are greatly to be deprecated; our danger of resting in ill-grounded hopes, is inconceivably great.

1. From our natural strong propension most fondly to embrace hope, let the kinds or grounds thereof be as they are. If hope be but deferred, it makes the heart sick; but if hope be cut off, we hasten to die. Who of us would be content to breathe an hour longer, if we had no hope for this or a future life?

2. From a criminal slightiness in the grounds of our hope for future blessedness, which we are sadly incident to. Too many of us content ourselves with hopes of going to heaven when we die, which have not so much as a shadow of good grounds. The reason of such persons' hope, if plainly rendered, would appear most inconsistent with this Word, and with good reason itself. Deut. xxix, 19: 'I shall have peace, though I walk in the imagination of mine heart.'

3. From inordinate self-love, and from thence self-flattery. When in our first apostacy, we left God, and lost our good affection to him, we then fell into a criminal love of ourselves. When we desisted adoring and praising our glorious Maker, we then began fondly to admire and flatter ourselves: hence we cannot easily be brought to entertain low and mean thoughts of ourselves, or to realize to our own minds the misery we are naturally exposed to. We cannot think we are enemies to God, or he is such to us-ward; we know not how to receive it, that our souls, remaining unconverted, shall be banished from the presence of God, from the experience of all good; that these very bodies and souls shall be ere long made the flaming monuments of unutterable and everlasting wrath; that a gracious God and our merciful Maker can ever find it in his heart to show us no mercy, when with bitter outcries, heart-breaking shrieks, wringing hands, floods of tears, and bleeding hearts, we shall at the bar of Justice appeal to and implore his infinite commiseration.

Our irregular self-love and flattery tell us, when the terrors of God's unappeasable wrath are set before us, 'These things shall not be unto you! We hope and cannot but hope better things some way or other shall happen to you.' And thus we incline 'to flatter ourselves, until our iniquity be found to be hateful.' Psalm xxxvi, 2.

4. Our dangers herein spring also from the mistaken opinion, or cologue of others with whom we converse. We live in a fawning, flattering world; our friends and neighbors, whatever they think, may speak well of us, nay, oft-times much better than we have deserved; and it may be, that they might the more easily serve themselves and their interests by us: whence we are liable to take up a good opinion of ourselves, and to form a hope we are as good as they report. Yea, godly people and able ministers of the gospel, not knowing our hearts, or the secrets of our lives, upon many outward appearances, judge well of us, hold us in reputation for Christians, nay, for shining saints. Whence we are prone to value ourselves, and to feed up hope, that we are the wise virgins, have oil enough in our vessels, and shall not (on the most surprising call) fail of a joyful entrance into heaven; when truly the way of peace we have never yet known.

5. From the artifices of Satan, that crafty seducer. As he goeth about like a roaring lion, seeking by many violences to devour men; so he crawls as a sly serpent, designing men's destruction, by innumerable devices; among which, he doth his utmost to flatter or lull silly souls into an ill-grounded hope; persuading them they are in the safe road to heaven, when truly they are sliding down apace into the dungeons of eternal darkness and perdition.

6. From the tremendous righteous judgment of God, our dangers of taking up with false hopes of heaven may arise. For great reasons and high provocations, God doth leave some to build their hopes high, who are the children of greatest wrath. Read instances hereof with much fear and trembling: Isaiah, vi, 9, 10. 2 Thess. ii, 10, 11, 12. 'God shall

send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie, that they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.' "*

Such was the preaching inculcated upon the fathers and predecessors of this congregation, five generations ago. Whatever else has changed since then, the gospel has not changed. You are witnesses that here Christ is now set forth as the great object of the repenting sinner's faith,—Christ, as the sinner's only hope,—"Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever."

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* The title of the pamphlet from which these specimens are taken, is, "Sundry False Hopes of Heaven, discovered and decried. In a sermon preached at the North Assembly in Boston, 3. d. 4. m. 1711. By James Pierpont, M. A. Pastor of New Haven Church. With a Preface by the Rd. Dr. Mather."—"Boston in N. E. Printed: sold by T. Green, at his shop in Middle street. 1712."

# DISCOURSE X.

## FROM 1714 TO 1740.—JOSEPH NOYES.—"THE GREAT REVIVAL" OF PRESIDENT EDWARDS'S DAY.

HABAKKUK, iii, 2. O Lord, revive thy work in the midst of the years.

WE come now to a portion of our history in some respects more difficult to be treated than any which we have heretofore examined. The age which succeeded the ministry of Mr. Pierpont, was an age of more controversy in the Churches, of greater errors and extravagances, of fiercer contention, and of more alarming agitation, than can be found in any other period of the history of New England. In all the emergencies of that age, our predecessors here had their full share of agitation and of peril. And though the fires which then burned so fiercely, seem to have burned out, he who walks among the ashes needs to walk circumspectly, lest he tread upon embers which are covered indeed, but not extinguished. The grandchildren, and in some instances the children, of those who acted in the scenes we are now to review, are still upon the stage; and their feelings towards those whom they regard with a natural veneration, may not be rudely invaded. Another Church, now happily associated with this so intimately as hardly to be another, came into being here amid those convulsions; and to enter into that history, to trace the errors of one party and of the other, however impartial the design, and however beneficial the legitimate tendency, may be dangerous, if there is any lack of discretion on the part of the speaker, or of candor on the part of the hearers.

The age of the ministry of Mr. Pierpont, has already been described, as an age of gradual declension throughout New England. Some of the causes of the declension have been pointed out—causes which, though continually counteracted by the ability and faithfulness of the great body of the min-

isters, were perpetually working to secularize the Churches, and to demoralize society. The same causes continued to work through the following age, and had much to do with the contentions and disasters that accompanied or followed what is so commonly spoken of as the great revival of 1742.

The Church was not long vacant after the death of Mr. Pierpont, which took place in November, 1714. On the first of July, in the following year, "at a meeting of the First Society," which is the first meeting on record under that name,*—"after some discourse, the votes were brought in, in writing, to nominate a man to carry on the work of the ministry on probation." In this proceeding, an omen appears of what was to follow. The people were divided in their preferences. "Mr. Joseph Noyes was chosen by the major vote, he having eighty six votes, and Mr. Cooke forty five votes." Mr. Cooke, the opposing candidate, was afterwards pastor of the Church in Stratfield, now Bridgeport, and became somewhat distinguished in the conflicts of the age, as a zealous opponent of the party with which Mr. Noyes was identified. It may be presumed, that when they were both young, and the preferences of the people of New Haven were divided between them, the difference in their characters was essentially the same as afterwards. Mr. Cooke, we may suppose, was, of the two candidates, the more fervent and pungent in the pulpit, and the more impetuous in his measures; Mr. Noyes, the more discreet in counsel, the more cautious in his statements, and the more scholarlike in his studied performances.

The old habit of proceeding deliberately in so great a matter as the settlement of a minister, was not yet laid aside. In September, two months after the call to preach on probation, the society voted their approbation of Mr. Noyes's labors, "so far as they had experienced the same," and engaged to give

* East Haven, North Haven, and perhaps West Haven, had been erected into distinct parishes or "ecclesiastical societies;" but the records of the First Society, as distinct from the town, commenced only at the date above mentioned.

him, while he should labor in the ministry among them, "one hundred and twenty pounds per annum in money, or in grain and flesh" at certain prices, and two hundred pounds in the same pay, as a settlement.* In December, the Church proceeded to declare their good acceptance of his labors, and to invite him to settle among them. He was ordained on the 4th of July, 1716.†

Mr. Noyes was greatly recommended and aided at his introduction to the ministry, by the celebrity of his father and grandfather; for in those days a young man's parentage was of more consequence than it is now. He was the son of the Rev. James Noyes of Stonington, whose father, James Noyes, was one of the original settlers of Massachusetts, and the first teacher of the Church in Newbury. Mr. Noyes of Stonington was, in his day, one of the leading ministers of the colony, greatly respected for his wisdom and his piety. He was "a distinguished preacher, carrying uncommon fervor and heavenly zeal into all his public performances. His ordinary conversation breathed the spirit of that world to which he was endeavoring to guide his fellow men. In ecclesiastical controversies he was eminently useful." "He was also counsellor in civil affairs, at some critical periods."‡ He was selected to be one of the first trustees and founders of the College; for though he was then an old man, and in a remote corner of the colony, his influence was deemed essential to the success of the undertaking. His son Joseph was a member of the class which graduated in 1709, while the College

* The prices at which Mr. Pierpont's salary of £120 was to be made up, as fixed in 1697, were as follows: Winter wheat at 5*s* the bushel; rye 3*s* 6*d*; corn 2*s* 6*d*; peas 3*s* 6*d*; pork 3 1-4*d* the pound; and beef 3*d*. The stipulated prices at which Mr. Noyes was to receive the grain and flesh of his salary were "as followeth: wheat at 4*s* 6*d* per bushel, rye at 2*s* 8*d*, Indian corn at 2*s*; pork at 2 1-2*d* per pound, beef at 1 1-2*d*,—the grain and flesh to be good and merchantable." If Mr. Noyes's salary was worth more than his predecessor's, his £200 settlement was probably worth much less than Mr. Pierpont's home-lot and house and his one hundred and fifty acres of land.

† Church Records, and Records of Society.

‡ Allen, Biog. Dict.

was under the presidency of the Rev. Mr. Andrew of Milford, the inferior classes being instructed at Saybrook by the tutors, and the senior class residing with the rector at Milford. The class of 1709, was by far the largest that had ever gone forth from the institution. It consisted of nine members, five of whom became ministers of the gospel.

Within a year after receiving his first degree, Mr. Noyes, then about twenty two years of age, became a tutor in the College, where he continued till he came here as a candidate for the pastoral office.* A few months after his ordination,

* President Stiles says, "After the death of Rector Pierson, and while the College was at Saybrook, and destitute of a resident Rector, the Rev. Phinehas Fisk, and the Rev. Joseph Noyes, were the pillar tutors and the glory of the College. Their tutorial renown was then great and excellent, although now almost lost."—Serm. on the death of Mr. Whittelsey, 25. In his Lit. Diary, for 1779, March 18th, Dr. S. speaks of examining Mr. Noyes's manuscripts, and says, "From Rector Pierson's death, till the removal of the College to New Haven, Mr. Fisk and Mr. Noyes were very eminent and cardinal tutors, far beyond any other. After Mr. Fisk left it, the headship devolved upon Mr. Noyes, who was in the tutorship five years. So that he was perfectly acquainted with College affairs."

Dr. Stiles transfers to the pages of his diary the following letter, which may interest some lovers of antiquity.

"*Revnd. Sir*,—I purposed to wait on you and to be our epistle to yourself; but many things prevent, especially Mr. Russel's absence. We content ourselves in sending one of the candidates to bear this epistle, which is to inform you, Revnd. Sir, that on Thursday of this week according to the custom of this school, the candidates were proved and approved,—present, Mr. Noyes of Lyme, the Rev. Mr. Ruggles, as also the Rev. Mr. Hart, Mr. Fisk, Mr. Mather, &c. Our request is that you would, Revnd. Sir, appoint them the commencement work. Moreover, it being granted at a meeting of the trustees, and recorded that candidates in this school may print theses and a catalogue as in other schools, we and they humbly request yourself would take the trouble to examine the theses and catalogue presented to you by the bearer;—please to insert or reject theses as you please. It is also our humble request that yourself would give the theses a dedication. Students are all in health. We always, Revnd. Sir, request your prayers, knowing our charge is great. Our duty waits on Madam Andrew. We shall not add, but the offering of our humble service to yourself, testifying that we are your

Very humble and obedient servant,

Jos. Noyes.

Saybrook, July 26, 1714.

To the Revnd. Mr. Samuel Andrew, Rector of the Collegiate School in Connecticut."

the College was removed from Saybrook to New Haven. The land on which the first College edifice was erected, at the corner of College and Chapel streets, was previously the property of this Church, and was sold by the Church to the trustees of the collegiate school, "for twenty six pounds current money."*

For the first twenty years, and more, after Mr. Noyes's ordination, there is no evidence that his ministry was not as acceptable and prosperous as that of his predecessor. Dr. Dana, who was partly contemporary with him, and who knew him personally, testifies that during all that period, the Church was harmonious and happy under his ministry.† To the same effect his colleague and immediate successor, Mr. Whittelsey, testifies that during that period, the Church, "enjoyed much peace, dwelt together in love and good order, great nnmbers being added thereto year by year."‡ Yet he did not preach, during those years, to a congregation in which there was no piety, or no superior intelligence. All the instructors and students of the College were under his pastoral care. He had among his hearers, successively, such men as the presidents Cutler, Williams and Clap. Such men too as Samuel Johnson, afterwards the father of the Episcopal Churches in Connecticut, Jonathan Edwards, Eleazar Wheelock, Aaron Burr, and Joseph Bellamy, sat under his preaching, enjoyed communion with the Church under his administrations, and left no record of their dissatisfaction, that has come down to us.

Meanwhile the colony was slowly spreading itself over its vacant territory; and, in the face of many obstacles, its population and wealth were gradually increasing. The counties of Litchfield and Windham were in that age, not unlike what

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* Church Records. This was land given to the Church, by Mrs. Hester Coster. Mr. Hooke's lot was alienated to the trustees, to be the site of the Rector's house. The vote of the trustees to remove the school to New Haven, was on the condition that these two lots should be obtained for the uses specified.

† Sermon on the eighteenth century. ‡ MS.

Illinois and Wisconsin are now, the remote wilderness where hardy enterprise contended with rude nature, and whither the adventurous emigrant turned his steps, hoping to find a home for his posterity. Efforts in England, to take away the charter and liberties of the colony, were renewed from time to time, keeping the people continually alarmed and agitated with the thought of losing all that they held dear. Wars with the Indians in the easternmost parts of New England, in which Connecticut, though remote from the danger, bore her full part by contributions of men and treasure, helped to demoralize, spreading the vices of military life through the puritan and rustic population. A fluctuating currency, the depreciation of the bills of credit which were issued to meet the expense of wars, and of constant vigilance and defense in England to maintain their chartered liberties, had a disastrous effect not only on business and general prosperity, but, what is of far more consequence, on morals, and against the influence of religion.

The Churches too, throughout New England, had generally adopted the opinion first asserted by the excellent and venerated Stoddard of Northampton, that the Lord's supper is a converting ordinance, and that men of decent outward deportment, professing to be seekers after the grace of God, but with no experience of the power of the gospel, and no pretensions to spiritual religion, may with perfect propriety be received to full communion. And in Connecticut the "ecclesiastical constitution," as it was called, or confederation of the Churches under the Saybrook articles, which as at first explained, and as now understood in practice, implies nothing inconsistent with the original Congregationalism of New England, was, by a series of little usurpations, acquiring more and more of the form and spirit of the worst kind of Presbyterianism. The Churches, for whose liberty and purity the country was planted, had lost in a measure both purity and liberty. They were brought continually more and more under the absolute power of the civil state. The parishes being established by law, and minorities, however

dissatisfied or indignant, having no right of secession, except by attaching themselves to some other denomination, the rights and feelings of minorities were sometimes treated, both by parishes and by ordaining councils, with contempt. The minister, when once settled, being in a great degree independent of his people, was under strong temptations to indolence in his studies, and to an inefficient and perfunctory manner of performing his duties. The wonder is, that in these circumstances, the ministry and the Churches did not sink together into such an apostacy as was at that very time taking place in the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of Europe. God remembered his covenant with the fathers, and would not forsake the children.

The year 1735 is commonly regarded as the commencement of that great religious excitement and revival, in New England, which made the middle of the last century so memorable in the history of our Churches. Occasional and local revivals of religion—seasons of awakening and ingathering in particular churches, had not been uncommon in New England, nor have they ever been uncommon in any country in which the gospel has been faithfully preached. But in the year 1735, there was a signal work of the grace of God in the town of Northampton, which was then blessed with the ministry of Jonathan Edwards. It began there without any extraordinary circumstances to awaken the attention of the people, or any extraordinary arrangements or efforts on the part of the minister. The young people of the place had for two or three years shown an increased sobriety in some respects, and an increased disposition to receive religious instruction. There had been, from time to time, instances of strong religious impression and of hopeful renovation. But in the latter part of December, 1734, five or six persons, one after another, became very suddenly the subjects of that grace of God which creates the soul anew. Among these was a young woman distinguished for her gaiety in youthful society,—"one of the greatest company-keepers in the whole town,"—who came to the pastor, with a broken

heart and a contrite spirit, and with faith and hope in the Savior of sinners, before any one had heard of her being at all impressed with serious things. The sudden, yet, as time proved, real conversion of this young woman, was the power of God striking the electric chain of religious sympathies, that had imperceptibly, but effectually encircled all the families of Northampton. Mr. Edwards says in his "Narrative," "The news of it seemed to be almost like a flash of lightning upon the hearts of young people all over the town, and upon many others." "Presently a great and earnest concern about the great things of religion and the eternal world, became universal in all parts of the town, and among persons of all degrees and all ages. All talk but about spiritual and eternal things was soon thrown by; all the conversation in all companies was upon these things only, except so much as was necessary for people carrying on their ordinary secular business. The minds of people were wonderfully taken off from the world: it was treated among us as a thing of very little consequence. All would eagerly lay hold of opportunities for their souls, and were wont very often to meet together in private houses for religious purposes: and such meetings when appointed were generally thronged. Those who were wont to be the vainest and loosest, and those who had been most disposed to think and speak slightly of vital and experimental religion, were now generally subject to great awakening. And the work of conversion was carried on in a most astonishing manner, and increased more and more. From day to day, for many months together, might be seen evident instances of sinners brought out of darkness into marvellous light. In the spring and summer following, the town seemed to be full of the presence of God, it was never so full of love, and yet so full of distress, as it was then. It was a time of joy in families, on account of salvation being brought to them; parents rejoicing over their children as new born, and husbands over their wives, and wives over their husbands. The goings of God were then seen in his sanctuary, God's day was a delight, and his tabernacles were

amiable. Our public assemblies were then beautiful; the congregation was alive in God's service, every one eagerly intent on the public worship, every hearer eager to drink in the words of the minister as they come from his mouth. The assembly were, from time to time, in tears, while the word was preached; some weeping with sorrow and distress, others with joy and love, others with pity and coucern for their neighbors."*

But that which was newest and most remarkable about this work of God's grace, was that it was not a local awakening. That which I have recited from Edwards's Narrative, is only a specimen of what was going forward at the same time, not only in the neighboring towns of Massachusetts, but still more extensively in Connecticut, and even in some parts of New Jersey. This Church shared in that first general revival. In the Narrative from which I have already quoted, and which was written in 1736, Mr. Edwards says, "There was a considerable revival of religion last summer at New Haven, old town, as I was once and again informed by the Rev. Mr. Noyes, the minister there, and by others. And by a letter which I very lately received from Mr. Noyes, and also by information we have had otherwise, this flourishing of religion still continues, and has lately much increased. Mr. Noyes writes that many this summer have been added to the Church, and particularly mentions several young persons that belong to the principal families of that town."† One of the persons brought under the power of religion during the progress of that revival in this Church, was Aaron Burr, afterwards President of the College of New Jersey, who was then pursuing his studies here as a resident graduate.‡

The awakening of 1735, here and elsewhere, was followed by several years of comparative declension; though it could not be denied, that great and abiding reformations were made, in those places which had been so remarkably visited.

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* Works, (Dwight's ed.) IV, 22. I have abridged the language of Edwards.

† Ibid, 26. ‡ Allen, Biog. Dictionary.

In the year 1739, the Rev. George Whitefield, whose fame was already great in England, where he preached his first sermon in June, 1736,—and in the infant colony of Georgia, which he had visited in 1738,—came for the second time to America. He arrived at Philadelphia in November; and after preaching there and at New York, and at a number of places in New Jersey, just long enough to be heard by thousands with unmingled and enthusiastic admiration, he proceeded through the southern colonies, where he labored amid great excitement, and with great success, till the last of August, 1740. Then at the earnest invitation of some of the ministers of Boston, he embarked at Charleston for New England, where another revival had already commenced, far more extensive, and in respect to the strength of excitement, far more powerful, than that which had been enjoyed five years before. The town of Boston, however, notwithstanding the earnest endeavors of the ministers there, had remained unaffected. The fame of Whitefield prepared the people of that place to receive him with awakened curiosity. The liberality of his Christian feelings, and the strangeness of his position—a minister of the Church of England, venerating the piety of the Puritans, seeking to walk in their steps, and giving the right hand of fellowship, without reserve, to all the followers of Christ—propitiated their good will. His peculiar style of oratory, depending for its power far more upon imagination, fervor, pathos, voice and gesture, than upon argument, riveted their attention to those simple and familiar truths which had been a thousand times inculcated upon them in vain. He preached to crowded thousands, not only in all the meeting houses, but upon the common. He made excursions into the adjacent country, preaching as he traveled, at the rate of sixteen sermons in a week. It was supposed that at his last sermon in Boston, when he took his leave of the town, he had not less than twenty thousand hearers. The excitement, thus begun, did not subside when the immediate occasion of it was removed. Boston was at that time blessed with the revival of true religion.

On Thursday, the 23d of October, Mr. Whitefield, having visited Mr. Edwards at Northampton, where he spent several days, arrived at New Haven. Here he was entertained at the house of Mr. James Pierpont, the brother in law of Mr. Edwards and Mr. Noyes. The legislature of the colony being in session, he remained till after the Lord's day; "and had the pleasure of seeing numbers daily impressed" under his daily ministrations in the old polygonal meeting house. Several ministers of the vicinity visited him, "with whose pious conversation he was much refreshed." Good old Governor Talcott, on whom with due politeness, he waited to pay his respects, said to him, "Thanks be to God for such refreshings in our way to heaven."*

The great religious awakening which was then in progress throughout New England, was accompanied with many errors and extravagances. We have heard much, and some of us have seen something, of the extravagances and enthusiasm connected with religious excitements at the present day; but nothing in our day,—whether "new measures," or "Finneyism," or "Burchardism," or by whatever name of terror you may choose to call it,—nothing that has had place within the pale of the Presbyterian and Congregational communion, can be represented as equal to the heats and disorders of the great revival of 1740–41. And the great reason is, the revivals of our day do not find the Churches, or the country, in so low and unprepared a state as did the revivals of that day. There is now a more intelligent and skillful ministry; the word of God is better understood; the nature of true piety is better understood; the differences between genuine and false religious experience, are more clearly and commonly apprehended; and, what is of equal consequence, the various methods and processes by which the renewing Spirit actually leads the minds of men to repentance and to holiness, have been more extensively and carefully observed. It were indeed a shame to the Churches and a

* Trumbull, II, 153.

reproach to the gospel itself, if ministers and Churches had learned nothing from the revival of 1740, with its blessings and its incidental evils, and nothing from the many similar visitations of Divine mercy between that day and the present.

One of the first symptoms of disorder, was the springing up of a corps of lay exhorters, untaught, uncalled, self-sent, who usurped the function of preaching the gospel, and brought themselves into collision with the instituted ministry and the organized Churches.

Another alarming indication was seen, in a disposition to follow not truth nor reason, nor any rule of conduct, but inward impulses,—a disposition which was naturally accompanied with a pretended power of knowing the state of men's hearts by some spiritual instinct, quicker and surer than the old process of inferring the state of the heart from the complexion of the life.

Another phenomenon of the times, was the appearance of a class of itinerating ministers, who either having no charge of their own, or without special call forsaking their proper fields of labor, went up and down in the land, making their own arrangements and appointments, and operating in ways which tended more to disorganize than to build up the Churches. I do not mean such men as Wheelock, Pomeroy, Bellamy, and Edwards himself, who went where they were invited, and calculated to demean themselves every where with Christian courtesy and propriety, and whose preaching wherever they went,—certainly that of the two latter,—was much better than the preaching of Whitefield, for every purpose but popular excitement. I mean those men of far inferior qualifications who, moved by an unbalanced excitement, or by the ambition of making a noise, or by the irksomeness of regular and steady toil, "shot madly" from their appropriate spheres if they had any, and went wherever they could find or force a way among the Churches, spreading as they went, denunciation, calumny, contention, spiritual pride, and confusion.

These things were signs, not of the revival of religion, but of its decay. Enthusiasm in religion,—the predominance of imagination and blind unthinking impulse over the soberness of truth, and thought, and conscience,—may coexist for a season with the revival of religion,—is even, in a sense, and to some extent, inseparable from a great religious awakening; yet it always indicates the presence and the power of the enemy; and where it spreads, and bears down all before it, there the enemy triumphs. Over-doing, says Baxter, is the Devil's way of undoing.

## DISCOURSE XI.

EXTRAVAGANCES AND CONFUSION.—THE NEW HAVEN CHURCH DIVIDED.—MR. NOYES IN HIS OLD AGE.

1 Cor. i, 13.—Is Christ divided?

At the time of Whitefield's first visit to this place in 1740, Mr. Noyes was in the 25th year of his ministry, and in the 49th year of his age. No doubt of his piety or orthodoxy, and no complaint against his ministry, appears to have found public utterance. But soon afterwards an opposition was organized against him, which not only resulted in a large secession from the Church, but involved all the evening of his life in storm and conflict.

Whitefield began his career in England, where it was not, and never had been, a breach of charity or candor, to say that not a few of the clergy on whom the people depended for religious instruction, were entirely ignorant of the power of religion. It is much better there at this day; but even now there are not a few, among the clergy of the established Church, who take up the ministry as a profession, not only from the lowest and most mercenary motives, but even without the decency of hypocrisy. It was perfectly natural, therefore, for Whitefield, in his preaching, to speak strongly against unconverted ministers. Whether this was wise, even in England, may be doubted. But when he came into this country, where every minister was both by the most solemn profession on his own part, and by the most solemn recognition on the part of the Churches, a man renewed by the Spirit of God, and where any good evidence of a minister's being unrenewed would be a sufficient reason for deposing him from office,—it was impossible that strong and sweeping declarations against unconverted ministers, could answer any good purpose. Unconverted ministers there doubtless were, even in New England; but Whitefield erred in spreading sus-

picion among the ardent and impetuous, respecting the piety of their pastors. The effect on the people, was bad; the effect on the pastors whose piety was called in question, was bad; and the effect on the itinerants who would fain follow in Whitefield's footsteps, was worst of all.

One of the earliest and most distinguished of these itinerants, was the Rev. James Davenport, a son of the Rev. John Davenport of Stamford, and great grandson of the first pastor of this Church. This man, having been educated at Yale College, where he graduated in 1732, had been for several years settled in the pastoral office at Southold on Long Island, and had been esteemed a pious, sound, and faithful minister. But in the general religious excitement of 1740, he was carried away by enthusiastic impulses, and without asking the approbation or consent of his people, set out upon an itineracy among the Churches, leaving his own particular charge unprovided for. Wherever he went, he caused much excitement and much mischief. His proceedings were constantly of the most extravagant character. Endowed with some sort of eloquence, speaking from a heart all on fire, and accustomed to yield himself without reserve to every enthusiastic impulse, he was able to produce a powerful effect, upon minds prepared, by constitution or by prejudice, to sympathize with him. His preaching was with the greatest strength of voice, and with the most violent gesticulation; it consisted chiefly of lively appeals to the imagination and the nervous sensibilities, and, in the mimicry, or pantomime, with which he described things absent or invisible as if they were present to the senses, he appears to have been more daring, if not more powerful, than Whitefield himself. He would make nervous hearers feel as if he knew all the secret things of God, speaking of the nearness of the day of judgment like one from whom nothing was hidden. He would work upon their fancy, till they saw, as with their eyes, the agony, and heard, as with their ears, the groans of Calvary, and felt as the popish enthusiast feels when, under the spell of music, he looks upon the canvas alive with the agony of Jesus.

He would so describe the surprise, consternation, and despair of the damned, with looks and screams of horror, that those who were capable of being moved by such a representation, seemed to see the gate of hell set open, and felt as it were the hot and stifling breath of the pit, and the "hell-flames flashing in their faces." And if by such means he could cause any to scream out, he considered that as a sign of the special presence of the Holy Spirit, and redoubled his own exertions, till shriek after shriek, bursting from one quarter and another in hideous discord, swelled the horrors of the scene. In one instance it is recorded of him as follows,—and this I suppose to be an exaggerated description of the manner in which he ordinarily proceeded at the close of his sermon, when he found sufficient encouragement in the state of his audience. "After a short prayer, he called for all the distressed persons (who were near twenty) into the foremost seats. Then he came out of the pulpit, and stripped off his upper garments, and got up into the seats, and leaped up and down some time, and clapped his hands, and cried out in these words, 'The war goes on, the fight goes on, the Devil goes down, the Devil goes down,' and then betook himself to stamping and screaming most dreadfully."*

It is hardly necessary to add of such a man, that he was exceedingly presumptuous and censorious, in pronouncing judgment upon the character and state of all who refused to countenance his proceedings. He not only awakened suspicion of ministers, by throwing out in his sermons vague and ambiguous insinuations; but he was wont, in the most peremptory and solemn manner, to declare this or that particular minister an unconverted man, and to call on the people to avoid that minister's preaching as they would avoid poison.

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* Chauncey, Seasonable Thoughts, 99. I know not why Chauncey is not as good authority in such matters as the panic-stricken Doctors of the present day. There is hardly a sentence in his book which would not read well in some of our most othodox periodicals, theological and literary. His statements of matters of fact, bear a wonderful likeness to the reports which were given in to the Reforming Convention of Presbyterians, assembled at Philadelphia in May, 1837.

This place appears to have been one of the principal theaters of his efforts. The celebrity of his father and of his more illustrious ancestor, and his numerous connections here, his mother being a native of New Haven,* afforded him of course a favorable introduction. He came to this place about the beginning of September, 1741, and immediately commenced operations. He was not long in forming, or backward in expressing, his opinions of Mr. Noyes, whose pulpit he was for a while permitted to enter. In an account written and published at the time it is said, "Mr. Davenport, in almost every prayer, vents himself against the minister of the place, and often declares him to be an unconverted man, and says that thousands are now cursing him in hell for being the instrument of their damnation. He charges all to pray for his destruction and confusion. He frequently calls him a hypocrite, a wolf in sheep's clothing, and a devil incarnate." "I think," adds the writer, "that few or none of his greatest admirers undertake peremptorily to justify these things; but they have conceived such an extraordinary opinion of his holiness and success, as that they seem to suppose that he has some extraordinary assistance or commission to do that which may not be done by any other man."†

The following statement, which is made not inconsiderately, but upon the most unquestionable testimony, is valuable, not only as showing the nature of Mr. Davenport's operations in this Church, but also as illustrating to some extent the character of Mr. Noyes.

Several brethren of the Church being offended at Mr. Davenport's publicly condemning their pastor as an unconverted man, calling him a wolf in sheep's clothing, with many other like opprobrious expressions, came together at the house of Mr. Noyes, on the Lord's day, September 21,

* Rev. John Davenport, of Stamford, was twice married. The children of his first wife were six. His second wife was the widow Elizabeth Maltbie, daughter of John Morris. She was the mother of two sons, Abraham and James. Dodd, East Haven Register, 116.

† Chauncey, 157.

1741, probably in the evening, and desired Mr. Davenport to give the reasons why he had thus reproached and scandalized their pastor.

Accordingly, Mr. Davenport alledged as his first reason, that a woman told him that she came to Mr. Noyes's under conviction, and said that she was the greatest sinner in the world, and that Mr. Noyes endeavored to abate her convictions.

To this Mr. Noyes replied, that he did not remember the instance; but supposed it might be thus, viz. that he might tell her that she was a very great sinner, and that she ought to be sensible of it, and more sensible of her own sins than of any other person's in the world; but that he did not suppose that she was really the greatest sinner in the world. Upon this, Mr. Davenport declared that this very reply was an additional evidence of his being an unconverted man. Afterwards, in explaining himself upon the word 'evidence,' he said, that it gave him reason to believe that it was so.

Mr. Davenport proceeded to alledge as his second reason, that Mr. Noyes assumed an honor to himself in the ministry which did not belong to him; for a woman told him that, some years ago, she came to Mr. Noyes, and brought a "relation," or narrative of her mental exercises on religious subjects, wherein she mentioned the names of several ministers who, she supposed, had been instrumental of her conversion; and Mr. Noyes asked her if he had not also done something towards her conversion, and asked her why his name was not mentioned. Mr. Davenport added that several other persons had told him that Mr. Noyes disliked their "relations," because there were so many names in them besides his.

To this accusation Mr. Noyes replied, that he did not remember any such thing, and was confident that it was a misrepresentation.

A third reason offered by Mr. Davenport in support of his opinion was, that Mr. Noyes was not a friend to the *work* then going on, and that he did not countenance itinerant

preachers; and that several persons had told him that they came to meeting with their affections raised, and that Mr. Noyes's preaching deadened and discouraged them, and tended to stifle their convictions.

To all this Mr. Noyes replied, that his preaching and conduct in these things were publicly known, and that every one was capable of judging without his saying any thing on the subject.

The fourth argument to prove Mr. Noyes an unconverted man was, that in private conversation with Mr. Davenport, he had said to this effect, that he had been deeply sensible of the vileness and corruption of his own nature, and that every one that turned his thoughts inward might easily have such a sense; and as Mr. Noyes seemed to suppose that it was an easy thing, the conclusion was that he had never experienced it himself.

Mr. Noyes's reply to this statement was, that he, in the conversation referred to, utterly refused to give Mr. Davenport any account of his religious experience, but that they had some discourse on doctrinal points. He could not think, however, that Mr. Davenport could reasonably understand him to mean, or intend, that every natural man had a sense of the vileness and corruption of his nature, or that it was an easy thing to have it. Several things were said on this point which could not easily be minuted down; but the sum of it was, "there seemed to be a misunderstanding between them."

The whole ground had now been gone over; and in view of all that had been said, Mr. Davenport declared that these reasons were sufficient to justify him in censuring and condemning Mr. Noyes as he had done. Then he said he would make a sort of acknowledgment; and forthwith, while some in the room were talking loud, and others smoking, and some with their hats on, he began a prayer. There being so much noise in the room, he was hardly heard at first. Many kept on talking; others exclaimed "stop him;" Mr. Noyes spoke once or twice, and said, "Mr. Davenport, I forbid your pray-

ing in my house without my leave." But he went on in the midst of noise, confusion, and consternation, and declared Mr. Noyes an unconverted man, and his people to be as sheep without a shepherd, and prayed that what he had now said, might be a means of his and their conversion; "or else," said he, "according to thy will let them be confounded." After that manner, he went on nearly a quarter of an hour. When he had done, Mr. Noyes forbade his ever going into his pulpit again; and some declared to Mr. Davenport, that his praying in that manner was a taking of the name of God in vain. And so the assembly broke up, in great consternation.

The document from which I have taken this account, is subscribed by Thomas Clap, Rector of Yale College, John Punderson, then a deacon in this Church, John Munson, who afterwards performed the office of a deacon for more than thirty years, and three others,* who unite in certifying, "This is the truth, according to the best of our remembrance; and the substance of the conference was minuted down at the time of it, and publicly read to Mr. Davenport, and the rest, immediately after."†

How long after this conference Mr. Davenport continued his operations in this place, does not appear. We find, however, that at the next society meeting, which was on the 28th of December, a paper was presented, signed by thirty eight men, desiring a division of the Society. The subscribers to this memorial alledged that they had, "by long and sorrowful experience, found that the preaching and conduct of the Rev. Mr. Noyes had been in great measure unprofitable to them," and also that they "had reason to think that he differed from them in some points of faith." They professed that they were not influenced by "any prejudice to the persons of Mr. Noyes and their brethren and friends of the Society, to whom they heartily wished all good." They asked that they, with others who might be inclined to join them, might be allowed to

* The three others were Theoph. Munson, Andrew Tuttle, and Samuel Mix.

† Chauncey, 158, 161.

draw off and become a distinct society, so that they might "put themselves under the best advantage to worship God, under such means as he in his good providence might allow," and such as they might hope he would "bless for their spiritual good and edification."*

To us at this day, it seems perfectly obvious, that the only wise or reasonable course in regard to such a memorial, and indeed the only course consistent with the principles of religious freedom, was either to take such measures as might conciliate the petitioners, and overcome their prejudices; or, if that seemed impracticable, to grant them their request at once. The town, as experience soon proved, was large enough for two congregations. In Hartford, there had been two Churches, both recognized in law, for seventy years. A controversy not unlike that which was now breaking out here, had commenced in Guilford twelve years before, and had been adjusted, after several years of confusion, only by the interference of the legislature to erect the minority into a new society. Yet in the face of the lessons taught by the experience of other places, the people here, when the question was proposed to the society, whether they would do any thing with respect to the memorial of the dissatisfied party, answered in the negative. Contention was now of course to be expected.

The next step of the dissatisfied party was, to prefer to the Church articles of complaint against the pastor, expecting, or at least demanding, that the charges should be investigated, according to the strict Congregational discipline, either by the

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* Society Records. The names of the memorialists were, Gideon Andrews, Caleb Tuttle, Jos. Mix, Caleb Bradley, Joseph Burroughs, David Austin, Jacob Turner, Caleb Andrews, Enos Tuttle, Obadiah Munson, Stephen Johnson, Samuel Cook, Timothy Mix, Samuel Horton, Thomas Punderson, Junr., Joseph Sackett, Hez. Beecher, Jos. Mix, Junr., Enos Thomson, John Bull, Caleb Hotchkiss, Junr., Benjamin Woodin, Caleb Bull, Timothy Jones, Benjamin Willmott, Daniel Turner, Stephen Austin, Thomas Willmott, Abraham Thomson, Mercy Alling, David Punderson, Enos Alling, Jabez Sherman, Amos Tuttle, Thomas Leek, Ezekiel Sanford, Timo. Alling, Amos Peck.

Church itself, or by a council agreed upon between the parties. In opposition to this demand, it was claimed that the Saybrook articles, which were a part of the ecclesiastical constitution of the colony and of this Church, had provided a different and better way for investigating charges against a pastor. By that rule, the ministers of the county, in their Association, were in the first instance to receive charges against a brother pastor, and if they saw reason, were to direct to the calling of a council of the consociated Churches of the county. But such was the standing of Mr. Noyes with the ministers and Churches of the vicinity, that the complainants were unwilling to bring their cause before such a tribunal. The question was therefore raised, whether the Church had ever adopted the Saybrook articles as a rule of discipline; and though the former pastor of the Church had been not only a leading member of the synod that framed the platform, but even the principal author of that instrument; and though the Church was present by its pastor and delegate, in the council which had approved the platform and formed the consociation for the county, and had uniformly acted as one of the confederate Churches of the county; it was now maintained by the complainants, that inasmuch as there was no written record of any action of the Church formally acceding to the Saybrook constitution, it was still to be considered as under the old rule of strict Congregationalism. And when the Church overruled their objection, and adopted a vote declaring that in this Church the Saybrook articles were to be observed, the ground of complaint was altered. They now professed to be the aggrieved party; they professed that they had always considered themselves as belonging to an unconsociated Church; and they insisted that Mr. Noyes and his friends had "divested them of their ancient ecclesiastical privileges," and by adopting the Saybrook platform, had formed themselves into another Church than that with which they, the complainants, were in covenant.

Accordingly, considering their relation as members of this Church to be at an end, they proceeded, without delay, to take the benefit of the act of toleration, and to organize themselves as a religious congregation dissenting from the established worship of the colony. On Friday, the 7th of May, 1742, they were solemnly constituted a Congregational Church, by four ministers called for the purpose, from "the Eastern District of Fairfield County," namely, Samuel Cooke, John Graham, Elisha Kent, and Joseph Bellamy.* One of the leading men in this secession, at the time when the Church was constituted, and afterwards, was Mr. James Pierpont, the eldest son of the former pastor, and the brother in law of Mr. Noyes,—a circumstance which could hardly fail to add to the sturdiness and stiffness of religious controversy, something of the proverbial bitterness of a family quarrel.

While the opponents of Mr. Noyes were making these movements, the Society which they were endeavoring to dismember had not been entirely idle. At a meeting on the 6th of April, it had been "voted, that a committee be chosen to treat with the Rev. Mr. Joseph Noyes, Mr. James Pierpont and others, what is proper to be done by the Society in this critical day, and report their thoughts at the next meeting." Six days afterwards, on the report of that committee, it was voted that the Rev. Mr. Noyes be desired, at the charge of this Society, to call in the assistance of the Rev. Messrs. William Russell of Middletown and Jonathan Edwards of Northampton to consult measures to promote peace among us, and to advise the Church and Society in so important an affair. On the first Monday in May, which was two days before the meeting of the ministers who came from Fairfield county to constitute the separating Church, the Society, in compliance with the advice given by Mr. Russell and Mr. Edwards, resolved, "by a full vote," to proceed to the settlement of a colleague pastor; and requested Mr.

* Records of White Haven Church.

Noyes, Deacon Punderson and Capt. John Munson to apply to the Association, at their next meeting, for advice and direction with respect to the person that might be suitable to be called as assistant in the work of the ministry. Yet in the face of these proceedings, designed to take away from the complaining party the original and principal ground of their dissatisfaction, the separating Church was solemnly constituted, after a day spent in fasting and prayer by them and their officiating ministers. Whether there was any thing in this, suited to mitigate Mr. Noyes's keen sense of the indignities which he supposed he had suffered, or to give him any better opinion of the party opposed to him, we need not inquire.

On the first Monday in June, the advice of the Association was communicated to the Society, recommending the Rev. Aaron Burr of Newark, as a proper person to be called to be Mr. Noyes's assistant in the ministry. This advice was immediately complied with; and a committee was appointed, with President Clap at the head of it, to go to Newark as soon as might be, and not only to lay this call before Mr. Burr, and to prosecute it before the Presbytery, but also to "treat with the good people of Newark, and obtain their consent to the Rev. Mr. Burr's removal to New Haven."

We know nothing further respecting this application to Mr. Burr, except that it was unsuccessful. In August, Mr. Noyes and Captain John Munson were again requested to apply to the Association for advice respecting an assistant to the pastor. The advice being received, the Society in compliance with the direction given them, applied to Mr. Chauncey Whittelsey, then a tutor in Yale College, to render occasional assistance, as might be consistent with his other employments. From this time, the settlement of a colleague was talked of; but for several years, nothing was done. The suspicion went abroad, and obtained extensive currency, that Mr. Noyes was not hearty in the plan of having a colleague. In this way, the separate meeting was continually increasing its numbers.

Early in 1744, the members of the separate Church began their arrangements for the erection of a house of worship. As soon as it appeared what they were doing, a meeting of the First Society was held, [18th April,] and "the Society entering upon the consideration of the separate party's raising a meeting house on the corner of Mr. Joseph Burrough's home-lot adjoining to the market place, voted that the same is very grievous to the said Society, and that they esteem it very hurtful to the public peace of said Society; and that Col. Joseph Whiting, Esq., Dr. John Hubbard, and Mr. Jonathan Mansfield, be a committee from said Society, immediately to represent to said separatists, that their doings herein are unlawful, and hurtful, and esteemed a public nuisance, and to desire them forthwith to desist their work." It was also voted, "that Col. Joseph Whiting, Esq., and Capt. Jonathan Alling, and Dea. John Hitchcock, be agents or attorneys for said Society, to take advice, and represent to the Hon. General Assembly, the doings of said separatists, in case they do not desist,—and prosecute them in the law, if it be thought advisable." Of course, the separate meeting house went up the more rapidly, after such proceedings were commenced against it.*

In the autumn of 1744, Whitefield visited New England a second time. Many ministers had by this time, become so much alarmed at the progress of the confusion that had ensued upon the labors of lesser itinerants, Whitefield's imitators, that they looked upon his coming with dissatisfaction,

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* The stated place of worship for the separates, before they had a meeting house, was the house of Mr. Timothy Jones. Records of County Court. From the records of the court, 18th January, 1743, I copy the following: "Lieut. Joseph Mix and others of the separate meeting in New Haven, with Mr. James Sprout, a preacher, requesting of this court that said Sprout might be admitted to take oaths and make subscription, according to the act of Toleration, and agreeable to the law of this colony relating to sober dissenters, this court having [heard] the said Sprout and counsel thereon, and considered thereof, are of opinion that the said James Sprout hath not shown himself to have any right by said law to what is asked for, and therefore do not see cause to grant the request."

fearing that it might cause a new outbreak of enthusiasm and disorder. The General Association of Connecticut, in June, 1745, hearing of his intention to pass this way, expressed their disapprobation, and advised that he be not invited to preach in any of the Churches. Accordingly, when he passed through this place he was not invited as before, to preach in Mr. Noyes's pulpit. A great crowd, however, assembled from this and the neighboring towns to hear him; and he preached from a platform in the street, before Mr. Pierpont's house, to a congregation on the green which neither of the meeting houses could have contained.*

The act of Toleration, of which the separating party had taken the benefit, did not exempt them from the payment of taxes to the Society from which they had withdrawn. It only gave them the privilege of worshiping by themselves, as dissenters from the order established by law. This of course added to the bitterness of the controversy, and made Mr. Noyes increasingly odious to those who having renounced him as their minister, were still taxed for his support. In December, 1748, a glimpse of better reason appears in one of the Society's votes, by which it was conceded that, in case of the settlement of a colleague pastor by the Society, those of the separate meeting who had taken the benefit of the act of Toleration, should be freed from all taxes for his support. There appears no reason to doubt that at that time, and thenceforward, Mr. Noyes was earnest in his desire to obtain a colleague, if he could have the right man.†

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* The vote of the General Association, may be found in Trumbull, II, 190. The fact of Whitefield's preaching here in the open air, was communicated to me in 1825 by the venerable Dr. Æneas Monson, then in his 92d year.

† At the meeting above mentioned Mr. Noyes proposed, "that the Society would settle some worthy person with him in the ministry." So again at a Church meeting, 9th Jan. 1750, "Mr. Noyes, our Rev. Pastor, having represented to this Church that he being in years, &c., wanted help,"—"the Church having sought direction of God in this important affair, and considered the matter, declared by their vote that they would, God willing, proceed to settle some worthy person with their present pastor in the work of the ministry; and in order thereunto desired and appointed the Rev. Mr.

In January, 1750, a committee, chosen promiscuously from both parties, was appointed to consider the state of the Society with relation to the religious differences, and to propose some scheme for a union, or at least for preventing any further separation. This committee does not appear to have accomplished any thing, or to have made any report.

Nine years after the organization of the separate Church, the Rev. Samuel Bird, who had been dismissed from his pastoral charge in Dunstable, Massachusetts, came by invitation to supply that Church with stated ministrations. He was a man of popular talents; and the congregation to which he preached was soon united in calling him to a permanent settlement.

On the 3d of September, 1751, a council was convened to advise the separate Church in regard to the installation of Mr. Bird as their pastor. The manner in which those who were dissatisfied with Mr. Noyes had withdrawn and set up their separate organization, seems to have been, up to the date now referred to, a serious impediment to their success. Public opinion regarded them as originally in the wrong. Mr. Bird had suspended his acceptance of their call upon the condition that something should be done for the removal of difficulties. If Mr. Noyes and his friends could be put more manifestly in the wrong, a great point would be gained. This council was called to advise in the removal of difficulties. It was smaller than was expected; and therefore, after spending a part of two days in examining the whole case, the council was adjourned to the 15th of October, the Church being advised to take measures in the mean time for enlarging the council.

After the adjournment, and probably in compliance with some unrecorded advice of the council, the leading members

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Thomas Clap, Dea. Isaac Dickerman, Dea. John Hitchcock, to be their committee, to join with such committee as the Society should appoint, in taking the advice of the Rev. Association of this county with respect to a suitable person or persons, from time to time, as need shall require, and in prosecuting the affair from time to time, by the approbation or direction of our Rev. Pastor, until a colleague be settled, or this Church order and direct otherwise.

of the separate Church sent to Mr. Noyes and his Church a confession, guarded indeed, and not very humble, but yet a confession which, if it had been received in a right spirit, might have led to a reconciliation.* How that confession was received, does not appear. Probably it passed without notice.

When the council came together again in October, it was greatly enlarged, and included no small part of the strength of the new divinity and new measure party of that age. Bellamy was among them, and Wheelock, and Pomeroy, and Hopkins, as well as some others whose names are now less known, though then they were numbered with the champions of their cause. The legislature of the colony was then in session; and of course the time was well chosen for the purpose of making a demonstration. The council being organized, Messrs. Bellamy and Hopkins were sent to Mr. Noyes with a letter, signifying the readiness of the council to receive any communications he might choose to make, the next day, at nine o'clock in the morning. Mr. Noyes of course had no communications to make to such a council; and in the morning, the council entered upon its business without him. But in the mean time, the General Assembly, in its watchfulness over all the interests of the commonwealth, considering that the peace, not only of New Haven, but of the whole colony, was involved in these proceedings, and feeling, probably, that the new light party was the growing party, judged that the controversy ought to be heard by a mutual council.

The advice of the legislature was brought in, while the council were hearing the case. Immediately a committee, consisting of Mr. Mills, moderator of the council, Mr. Wheelock, Mr. Bellamy, and two of the lay members, was appointed to "confer with the honorable the Governor, Deputy Governor, and the worshipful assistants now sitting in court." The committee represented to the upper house, how often the

* See the confession in Trumbull, II, 346.

separating party had proposed to Mr. Noyes a mutual council, and how often he had refused or evaded the offer. To this the Governor and his council replied by advising that the offer should be renewed once more, and by intimating that once more would be enough.

Next, the same committee, with one minister added,* was sent to confer with Mr. Noyes on the proposal for a mutual council. The report of the committee was, that Mr. Noyes would not comply with the advice of the Assembly. Yet while the council was in the act of hearing that report, a written communication from Mr. Noyes was presented, in which he declared his purpose to call his Church together, that they might consult on the advice of the Assembly; and to confer with the committee of the parish; and to prosecute the business as fast as Providence would allow.† This letter was deemed unsatisfactory and evasive; and a communication, signed by a committee of the separate Church, was conveyed to Mr. Noyes by a committee of the council, to tell him that they did not trust him, and that they wanted prom-

* The minister added to the committee when sent to Mr. Noyes, was the Rev. John Graham of Southbury, a man rather more unlikely to persuade or conciliate, than either Bellamy or Wheelock.

† The oral report of the committee was—"Mr. Noyes told them 'he had a great regard to the fifth commandment, but he did not thank the Assembly for what they had done. I look upon the Assembly as infallible as the pope. Such a council is inconsistent with the constitution, contrary to the light of nature;'—and directing himself to one of the said committee said, 'What if you and I had a difference, and you should choose three men, and I choose three, and they should strip and fight it out; what good would that do?' He said 'he liked government, but did not like arbitration: where do you find any ground in Scripture for it?' The said committee returning, reported as above to the council, and declared it to be their judgment that Mr. Noyes would not comply, and that what he said was a sufficient intimation of his non-compliance."

The reader will naturally inquire whether it was generous or just in the council, to bait and worry an irritable old man, by sending a committee, some of whom (as Bellamy, Wheelock and Graham,) were especially obnoxious to him; and then to act, not upon his written reply, but upon the violent expressions which the committee had caught up in the heat of their debate with him. Mr. Noyes was undoubtedly wrong; the only question is, whether the committee and the council were perfectly right.

ises more distinct, and pledges more irrevocable. He had not—so they told him—expressly declared his own compliance with the advice of the legislature; he had not proposed to call his Church together immediately, nor had he fixed any time for that purpose. To this Mr. Noyes's answer, as given in writing, was plain, and for aught that I can see, explicit. "Gentlemen, I have read your paper of this day, and in answer say, The advice of the honorable Assembly is to the Society and Church in this place, whose minds I do not know. So far as it concerns me, I purpose to prosecute it, and to lay it before my Church as soon as Providence will allow me, and confer with the Society's committee on the affair." Yet the committee who waited on him, and who brought back this written answer, insisted in their report, that when in conversation they told Mr. Noyes that this seemed to leave the matter in doubt, and therefore desired him expressly to say for himself, whether he would on his part comply with the advice of the Assembly, and expressly promise to lay it before the Church, he refused to give them any other promise; and upon this testimony, the council voted that Mr. Noyes's answers were evasive.

The next step in the council was to give a formal judgment on the controversy between the separates and their opponents, declaring that the ground on which the separates had withdrawn and erected themselves into a distinct Church was right; and that the confession which they had so lately offered as to the manner of their withdrawal, was sufficient. Mr. Bird was then examined and approved; and, in the face of another communication from Mr. Noyes, again assuring them of his intention to comply with the advice of the legislature so far as he was concerned,* the installation was performed.

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* Mr. Noyes's letter, as preserved on Mr. Bird's records, is as follows:

"To the Rev. Mr. Jedediah Mills, &c.

"Gentlemen:

"Perceiving that what I have wrote is not rightly understood, I again say, I have no mental reserves. I look upon it my duty to prosecute the ad-

This proceeding did not prevent Mr. Noyes from fulfilling his promise of compliance with the advice of the Assembly. Early in the ensuing week, the Church having already acted, there was a meeting of the Society, at which it was voted, that the Society "do fully acquiesce in said advice and determine to prosecute it;" and thanks were voted to the General Assembly for their care. A committee* was appointed to act for the Society in the nomination of a council, and in determining what particular questions should be submitted to the council. It was also voted, that if the parties should not agree in the nomination of a council, the General Assembly should be requested either to appoint a council of their own selection, or to cause one to be nominated by the several consociations in the colony. A committee was also appointed on the part of the separate Church. The committees agreed in the nomination of a council, but they could not agree as to the particular questions upon which the council should be called to judge. At that point, the proposal was frustrated.†

A year and a half after these proceedings, this Church adopted a solemn vote, reciting the origin of the separation under the conduct of James Davenport, the forbearance which this Church, according to the advice of the "Grand Council at Guilford," had exercised towards its separating members,

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vice of the honorable Assembly. Shall do it to my utmost: purpose to call a church meeting, the beginning of the week. I have sent for the Society's committee, to speak with them this evening. Let there be no misunderstanding. In great haste, I am, gentlemen, yours, &c.

JOSEPH NOYES.

"P. S. I hope you will do nothing to defeat the advice."

This letter came when the council were just ready to move to the meeting house, and "after a short debate," was voted to be "now unseasonable."

* "Rev. Mr. Thomas Clap, Dea. Isaac Dickerman, John Hubbard, Esq., Dea. John Hitchcock, Dea. Jonathan Mansfield, Capt. Jonathan Alling, and Mr. Chauncey Whittelsey, together with the Rev. Mr. Joseph Noyes."

† The account of these proceedings is compiled from the records of the Society, and from those of the White Haven Church. Dr. Trumbull's entire story of the separation at New Haven, (II, ch. 14,) is little else than a transcript, with verbal alterations, of the first twelve pages in Mr. Bird's book of records. He appears not to have consulted any other document.

and the censure passed upon them by the consociation of the county,—and declaring that all who had joined the separate Church, or who had communed with them, had cut themselves off from this Church, and that the Church was therefore discharged of "any farther special inspection over them."

All this while the new Church, under the ministry of a man in the prime of life, whose style was popular, whose elocution was impressive, and whose preaching insisted much on those great topics and grounds of spiritual religion which are in all ages most interesting to the human mind, was continually gaining upon the old Church, in its old meeting house, under the ministry of an old man, whose preaching, dry in style, and dull in delivery, was, at the best, "non-committal" in respect to those ever litigated doctrines which are the grand objective motives of Christian piety. In January, 1753, it was proposed that a new meeting house should be erected. But the law required, in order to the erection of a meeting house, a vote of two thirds of the inhabitants of the Society; and such a vote, by reason of the opposition of the separate party, could not be obtained. It was resolved therefore to petition the General Assembly for a special act enabling the Society, or such part of it as the legislature should think proper, to tax themselves for that purpose. The separate Church determined to meet them with a counter memorial, praying to be released from all taxes for the support of Mr. Noyes. The petition of the Society was so far successful, that the erection of the meeting house was commenced in the ensuing summer, the location being fixed by a committee of the legislature. But although the undertaking was forwarded by the generosity of individuals, and by large and repeated donations from the funds of the Church; such were the difficulties to be encountered, that the new brick meeting house was not finished till three or four years afterwards.

While the ecclesiastical affairs of New Haven were in this unhappy condition, the general controversy originating in the great religious excitement of the age, was becoming more complicated. In a few years from the beginning, it was

plain that there were three distinct parties in the field. First, there were those who went all lengths for itineracy and lay preaching, for outcries in worship and bodily agitations, for denunciation of ministers, and separation from the regular Churches, for enthusiastic impulses as the rule of judgment, and for every other extravagance. The chief leader, if not the father of these, James Davenport, was, in the year 1744, by the blessing of God on the endeavors of Messrs. Williams and Wheelock of Lebanon, recovered from his delusion, and brought to a penitent confession of the extravagances into which he had been led. But he found, as such men always find, that he could not undo the mischief he had done. He could recover but few of those whom he had been the means of leading into delusion. They generally pronounced him a fallen man; they declared that he was under the influence of others, and that he had lost the Spirit of God.

Another party included all those who, with Edwards and Bellamy, acknowledged the hand of God in the revival of religion, and endeavored to convince all that the work was indeed of God, and that its effects and results, however they might come far short of what had been hoped for, and however they had been marred by the workings of human imperfection and folly, were greatly to be rejoiced in; but who at the same time felt themselves bound, to bear testimony as they had occasion,—though I cannot but think that some of them testified too sparingly,—against the extravagances and errors which had been so disastrously mingled with the work of God, whether by their own agency or by that of others. This was the middle party; and this was continually gaining ground, especially in Connecticut.

A third party was that of which Dr. Chauncey, of Boston, may be considered the leader. It included those who forgetting that the opposite of wrong is not always right, thought that the one great duty of the times was to oppose the new light and the new measures. They were men whose opposition to extravagance became itself extravagant; and whose fears that some credit might accrue to Whitefield, or Ten-

nent, or Davenport, or some other revivalist, led them insensibly to take dangerous ground, to undervalue all zeal for the conversion of men, to oppose all the forms of religious activity, to think lightly of that kind of preaching which has the most direct tendency to affect the popular mind, and to be more and more disgusted with what seemed to them enthusiasm, extravagance and cant, till some of them, and particularly Chauncey himself, became apostles of the most destructive heresies.

With this third party Mr. Noyes appears to have had too much sympathy. If I mistake not, his sense of personal injury, his love of old steady times, and his disgust, had made him too much like one of those old school men of this day, whose discourse is ever of the degeneracy of the times, and who are alive only with anxiety and panic about the progress of extravagance and error. This too tended to the prosperity of the separating Church. The people,—the best part of the people,—who knew what God had wrought; who knew how many family altars had been erected in consequence of the revival, how many thoughtless giddy souls had become serious and devout, how much vice had been checked, and the knowledge and study of the Scriptures had been promoted,—could not be made to sympathize permanently with such feelings. And on the other hand, the new Church having for its distinctive character opposition to Mr. Noyes's ministry, had less and less sympathy with the extravagances which attended its origin, and grew in grace as it grew in stature.

The religious disputes of the day were carried into politics, as of course they must be where the Churches are subject to political regulation. At first the legislature made severe laws to repress the itinerating preachers and the lay exhorters, and to keep every pastor from invading other men's parishes. Under these laws, a man no less considerable than Samuel Finley, afterwards president of the College of New Jersey, was seized by the civil authority for preaching in Milford, and was carried as a vagrant out of the colony. But such pro-

ceedings, of course, produced a reaction. The new light side soon became the side of liberty, the side of "the democracy," the side of those who were deemed the vulgar, against those who considered themselves as belonging to a higher class in society. Of course it was the growing side. In a few years, the "political new lights" began to command a formidable influence in the General Assembly of the colony.

It was not long before the College began to feel the pressure of this state of things. The students and officers of the College, had always worshiped in this congregation, and attending upon a separate meeting, even in vacation, had been treated in the laws of the College, and in the administration of the laws, as a serious offense.* But now many of the students began to have decided preferences about the place of worship, and many parents, placing their sons here, shared in the growing prejudice against Mr. Noyes. The President and the Corporation had been greatly opposed to the "new light" party, and particularly to the separate meeting here. One of the Fellows, Mr. Cooke of Stratfield, a leading agitator, had been called to account before the Corporation, for some of his proceedings, probably for his part in organizing the separation here; and he had found it expedient to resign his seat at the Board.† But gradually, the President, and the other members of that body appear to have become convinced that Mr. Noyes was at heart opposed to receiving a colleague; and that he had art enough to defeat all efforts to that end. What then was to be done? The College was losing its favor with the public; and was there no remedy? A timid man, or a man of less grasp and force of mind, would probably have petitioned the legislature for liberty to form the students into a distinct congregation, and to organize a Church in College, and might thus have exposed the institu-

* The well known case of David Brainerd, will be noticed on a subsequent page. For the case of John and Ebenezer Cleaveland, (of whom John was the grandfather of the Rev. E. L. Cleaveland, of this city,) see Trumbull, II, 129.

† College Records.

tion to the greatest dangers. But President Clap conceived the bold idea of asserting this right as by the common law inseparable from the existence of a College, and as conceded, therefore, by the charter that allowed the institution to become a College. All parties seem to have been taken by surprise, and opposition to the plan, both in the corporation and out of it, though earnest, was ineffectual. In 1753 public worship was commenced in the College Hall; and efforts were made with great vigor to obtain the means of supporting a Professor of Divinity, who should be the pastor of the College congregation. In pursuing this object, the President became of course Mr. Noyes's earnest opponent. The great argument for raising funds, was that the College must have better preaching than Mr. Noyes's, more instructive, more awakening, more orthodox. Mr. Noyes though a member of the corporation, and for a long time the secretary of that body, was vilified before the legislature and elsewhere, as an Arminian, and almost, if not quite, a Deist. That he was an Arminian, never was proved, and certainly cannot be disproved. We may presume that as he found himself the object of increasing odium and denunciation, on the part of those whose rallying cry was 'Orthodoxy,' he was increasingly disposed to differ from them on all sorts of questions. At one time, an attempt was made to bring him before the College corporation, that he might be examined as to his theological views, and thus be convicted of heresy. Of course he met the attempted usurpation with an obstinate resistance. For resisting it successfully, he deserves to be had in respectful remembrance.

In 1755, the Rev. Naphtali Daggett was elected Professor of Divinity in the College, and entered on the duties of that office. The following year, an earnest effort was made by the people, "with Mr. Noyes's good liking" to make him colleague pastor here, and thus to bring back the College to this congregation. When that proposal had been declined, it was immediately followed by a request that the professor should preach in the pulpit of this Society, half the time.

The attempt failed, because the corporation could not be moved from the purpose of maintaining public worship always within the walls of the College. I need not say how much the true interests of this Church, as well of the College, were promoted by this arrangement.

One point which this negotiation clearly demonstrates, deserves a moment's consideration. The Church and Society, and their minister, are commonly reported to have been in those days entirely Arminian. Professor Daggett was a preacher of the most "proved and approved" Calvinism. Yet Mr. Daggett's preaching was "to the very good liking of the said Mr. Noyes, and the people in general;" and Mr. Noyes, to obtain the aid of so orthodox a divine, freely offered to relinquish half his salary. The Society was not satisfied with merely offering a call. Having referred to the great desire which the corporation of the College had expressed, especially for the sake of the students, to have orthodox principles inculcated, "as contained in the Confession of Faith owned in the Churches of this colony, and in the Assembly's Catechism," they adopted a solemn declaration in these words;—"That they esteem themselves to be, and always to have been settled and built upon the ecclesiastical constitution of this colony, both in doctrine and discipline, which doctrine is that contained in the said Confession and Catechism; and that they are not only willing but desirous that the same principles and no other, be preached in the pulpit,—and the same shall by no means be offensive to us." Does not this indicate that the bitter controversy of the age was maintained by faction and passion, quite as much as by any radical or irreconcileable difference of principle?

At this time, the long continued ecclesiastical controversy in the town was manifestly approaching a crisis. It began to be feared on one side, and hoped on the other, that the "new lights" would ere long become the majority. The Society in its meetings began to manifest a desire to be peaceably rid of them. On the 10th of February, 1755, it was "voted that application be made to the General Assembly for relief;"

and "that the General Assembly be humbly requested to enact, either (1) that those persons who have dissented as aforesaid, and their adherents, be disenabled to act or vote in any meeting of this Society, in any matter that respects the ministry and the building or repairing the meeting house of the Society; or (2) that the said dissenters and their adherents be set off from this Society so as that said Society may meet and vote respecting the matters aforesaid, exclusive of and without taxing or having regard to said dissenters and their adherents, in such way and manner as said General Assembly shall see fit." The "new lights" not only voted against this proposal, but entered a formal protest against it. It seems that this application was unsuccessful. A year afterwards when the attempt to settle Mr. Daggett was in progress, it was voted that "this Society is willing that those inhabitants who ordinarily attend on the ministry of Mr. Bird, should be exempted from paying any part of such taxes," as might be laid for the settlement and support of Mr. Daggett; "and that they and their posterity be made a body corporate or ecclesiastical society, provided, they will apply to the General Assembly therefor, and be set off from this Society." A few days afterwards, a large committe was appointed, representing both parties, to "project some method or plan to divide the Society in some just and reasonable manner." This committee does not appear to have arrived at any result. In March, the necessity of laying a tax for the completion of the new meeting house, was made the occasion of a memorial to the legislature for relief; but against this Mr. Bird's adherents protested.

The grand obstacle all along, in the way of a division, was the hope which the separates cherished, of getting the property not of the Society only, but of the Church also, into their own hands. Secession and liberty would not satisfy them. They judged that they had a right to at least an equal share of the lands and funds, which the Society had acquired from various sources. They felt too that they had as good a right as any body to the peculiar endowments, and even to the sacramental vessels, of the Church from which

they had seceded. None in these days would think of such a claim. They never would have thought of it, if they had been at liberty to secede when they first desired a separation.

At the annual meeting in January, 1757, it was once more resolved that application be made to the General Assembly to have the inhabitants divided into two ecclesiastical societies; and at the same time it was ordered, that all the inhabitants have liberty to enter their names with the clerk at any time before the first of May, "declaring to which party they choose to belong, by the general distinction of Mr. Noyes's party and Mr. Bird's party," so that the division into two parties might be made according to what is now called "elective affinity." In regard to the property it was resolved, "that the General Assembly be desired, upon hearing the parties, to judge and determine how the same ought to be disposed of." Mr. Jared Ingersoll of this Church, and Mr. Samuel Cooke of the separate Church, were appointed agents in behalf of the Society to present the petition. The meeting was adjourned to the second Monday in June; and before that time, it was expected that the legislature would act on the petition.

The enrolling of the names of all the inhabitants according to their party preferences was immediately commenced; and when it was finished, it appeared that the "new lights" were the majority. By some means, the General Assembly was induced to continue the Society's memorial from the May session to the session in October. At the adjourned meeting in June, it was voted by the new light majority, that the memorial be withdrawn. It was also voted to "elect and call" Mr. Bird to be "a minister of this Society," and that the new light meeting house "be the place of public worship for the present." Mr. Bird accepted the call;* and

* I transcribe from the Society records, Mr. Bird's letter accepting the call. The address of the letter is, "To Messrs. David Wooster, James Pierpont, and William Greenough, committee from the First Society in New Haven. To be communicated."

"*Gentlemen*,—The notice you have taken of me, and the respect you have shown me, in given me a call to the work of the ministry among you, is acknowledged with gratitude. I have calmly and deliberately considered

at a subsequent meeting, an annual salary was voted for him. It was now the turn of the "old lights" to exercise the grace of patience, and to record their protests.

At a meeting in October, it was voted, that whereas the difficulties in the Society had been occasioned by "the great deficiencies of Mr. Noyes in the work of the ministry," and particularly by his "neglecting to open, explain, and inculcate some of the great and important doctrines of Christianity," and his "imprudent" and "inexcusable conduct with regard to the settlement of a colleague;" and whereas it was doubtful whether the contract originally made with Mr. Noyes could be enforced by law, owing to some technical informalities which they thought they had discovered; and whereas for several months, Mr. Noyes had not attended public worship at the place appointed for that purpose by the Society,—therefore a committee should wait on Mr. Noyes "and inform him that, for the foregoing reasons among many others, it is the desire of this Society that he would desist from his ministerial labors in this place, and that no farther provision will be made by this Society for his support and maintenance." Mr. Noyes continued his labors as before; and he took pains to remove all doubts respecting the validity of the contract under which he was settled, by bringing an action against the Society, and thus enforcing the payment of his salary.

In February, 1758, a proposal was formally tendered by the adherents of Mr. Bird to the other party, that a division of the property, both that belonging to the Society and that which was peculiar to the Church, should be made by arbitration of individuals mutually chosen. The proposal being rejected by the adherents of Mr. Noyes, who would not for a

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the matter, and in answer say, that since Providence has fixed my abode among you, I shall not be unwilling to serve you to the best of my power; provided due encouragement be given for a comfortable subsistence among you so long as it may be the pleasure of God to continue me in the work, and my labors may be acceptable to you. This with my kindest salutations to you, wishing that grace, mercy and peace may be multiplied to you and yours, and asking an interest in your prayers for me, leaves me nothing further but to subscribe your well wisher and humble servant,

SAML. BIRD."

"New Haven, Aug. 8th, 1757."

moment entertain any overture implying that the property of the Church belonged to the Society, was ordered to be put upon record "as a standing evidence of the pacific disposition of Mr. Bird's adherents."*

At the same meeting, votes were adopted, protesting in the strongest terms against the intended ordination of Mr. Whittelsey as colleague with Mr. Noyes in the pastoral care of this Church. The ordination was however performed, just three weeks afterwards. This event doubtless, tended to bring the controversy to a conclusion; for thenceforward the personal and official unpopularity of Mr. Noyes no longer operated as before, to weaken the hands of his Church and congregation.

At last on the 8th of January, 1759, it was voted to apply to the General Assembly again for a division of the Society, and that all questions as to which party should be the First Society, and how the property in dispute should be divided, be left to the wisdom of the legislature. In October of the same year the request was granted. The adherents of this Church were made the First Society; and the adherents of the separate Church were incorporated as the White Haven Society. The plate and all the property of this Church remained undivided. The new brick meeting house, erected partly by the funds of the Church, and partly by donations from individuals, was declared the property of the First Society. The old meeting house, the bell, and all the property which had belonged to the Society before the commencement of the difficulties, was declared to belong to the two Societies in equal proportions. And thus the controversy of eighteen years was concluded.

Mr. Noyes lived a little more than three years after the ordination of his colleague. "Finding the infirmities of age to increase upon him, he very much desisted from the public work of the sanctuary, and entertained himself almost wholly

* Under this record as it stands in the Society's book, some later pen has written, "Quere, Whether there are not sometimes violent gusts of wind in the *Pacific* Ocean?"

with reading and conversing with his friends and people. And thus," says his colleague and successor, "he seemed very agreeably to pass away the years of his old age, often expressing peculiar satisfaction in the present peaceable state of his flock, and the provision that God in his providence had made for them."* He died on the 14th of June, 1761, aged 73; and his dust lies under this edifice.

As he left behind him no published works, and as none of his manuscripts are now known to exist, it is impossible for us to form any just estimate of his intellectual powers and attainments. Mr. Whittelsey, who knew him well for more than twenty years, has given a careful delineation of his character in a manuscript now before me. "Mr. Noyes was a gentleman of good natural powers; and as he resided at the College several years after he received the honors of it, he made himself very much master of the learning taught at College in that day. He was naturally observing, judicious, and prudent; and these very useful and important qualities, he, from time to time improved by experience, and thence was an excellent economist in the management of the affairs both of his family and of the public. His conversation was very entertaining and useful; even those who, after the difficulties arose in his Church, were not so well pleased with his preaching and public ministerial labors, yet allowed him to have an uncommon talent at pleasing and instructing in private and familiar discourse. In public prayers he was equaled by few in justness of sentiment, and in readiness, variety and aptness of expression; on special occasions, he was admired for his discernment and accuracy in noticing every particular that was proper to be noticed, and in choosing expressions that were pertinent and well adapted to the occasion. In his public discourses, as he remembered that the gospel was to be preached to the poor, and was of opinion that the unlearned, the more ignorant part of the people, stood in need of instruction and help more than others; so he, upon principle, aimed rather to be plain, familiar, and instructive, than

* MS.

learned, critical, ornamental, or moving.* Indeed, in expounding passages of Scripture occasionally, he discovered a close attention, and a good acquaintance with the phraseology of Scripture, and a sufficient knowledge of the art of criticism. In expounding doubtful passages, and treating upon deep and mysterious doctrines, about which good and great men had entertained different sentiments, he was always cautious, and judiciously charitable and moderate."

It would be unjust not to pay, in this place, some tribute to the memory of Madam Noyes. She was the eldest daughter of the Rev. James Pierpont, and the only child of his second wife. Distinguished by the advantages of birth and station, she was more distinguished by her intellectual and moral endowments. Her example, her prayers, and her unwearied diligence in doing good, made her, from early youth to the most venerable age, one of the best of blessings, not to her husband and children only, but to the Church and to the public. Her memory long flourished here, and her name was greatly honored, even by those who remembered her husband with aversion. She died at the same age with her husband, having survived him seven years.†

Need I say what lesson we ought to learn from the painful history we have been reviewing? We have been studying the operation of party spirit; and how instructive is the study in reference to our own duties and dangers. That, in our times, which most counteracts and threatens to turn into bitterness the purest affections of piety—that which tends most to the perversion and progressive corruption of religious doctrine, and to prevent the just understanding and application of the word of God—that which, most of all things in

* This, however well expressed, is a poor apology for poor preaching. Ignorant people need the best preaching; and that which is good for ignorant people, is good for the most enlightened. I have heard the story, that President Clap once undertook to expostulate with Mr. Noyes for not preaching better. "You do not know," said Mr. Noyes, "what an ignorant people I have to preach to." "Yes I do," said the President, "and I know that as long as you preach to them in this way, they always will be ignorant."

† The character of Madam Noyes, as delineated by Mr. Whittelsey, in a sermon occasioned by her death, will be found in the Appendix, No. XII.

the Church, dishonors God, exposes the name of Christ to scorn, and grieves the Spirit of grace—is the party spirit among ministers and Churches, which so much talent and so much industry are continually laboring, with disastrous success, to fan into a devouring flame.

During the period which has now been reviewed, the country was passing through the struggles of the "old French wars." The French monarchy had formed a gigantic scheme of dominion in America. Having possessed itself of the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence, it was stretching a chain of forts and trading stations from the one to the other, and was designing to sweep the English from the continent. Two protracted wars, of which the greatest brunt and burthen came upon New England, annihilated that ambitious project. The first, in which France and Spain were allied against Great Britain, commenced in 1740, and ended in 1748 with the treaty of Aix la Chapelle. This war was signalized by that most adventurous exploit on the part of the New Englanders, the capture of Louisburg; and it first made Great Britain acquainted with the iron energy that was developing itself in this unnoticed corner of her empire. Signalized as it was by the most enthusiastic exertions on the part of New England, and by the most unlooked for successes, it resulted in nothing. Peace was made on the plan of restoring every thing to the state before the war; and then both parties had as it were a breathing time, preparing for another conflict. The second of these wars commenced in 1755, and ended in 1760, with the conquest of Canada, and the destruction of the French scheme of empire on this continent. In this war, Connecticut distinguished herself even above her sister colonies. She had no immediate interest. Her territory was not invaded; her hearths and her altars were far from the scene of conflict. Yet, year after year, she spontaneously furnished a double quota of men and of all the materials of war. For three successive campaigns, she kept in the field, at her own expense, an army of five thousand men,—and those, not wretched conscripts from a wretched

peasantry, nor the miserable sweepings from the streets of cities, but hardy freeholders and their sons, who knew how great was the prize for which they were contending; and who, by that lavish expenditure of treasure and of blood, saved their posterity from becoming the vassals of a popish despot, and opened the boundless west to be planted by the sons of New England, and to be filled with New England institutions. Thus the colonies were made to know their own strength. They learned that their own armed yeomanry, contending for their rights, for their hopes, for their posterity, were better on the march and in the battle, than the mercenary soldiers of Britain. And when, about twelve years from the close of the last French war, the long expected crisis came, and the country rose in arms to the awful struggle for its independence; all was ready. Those who commanded at Bunker Hill, those who formed and trained the continental armies, and led them to their victories, were men who, in the preceding conflicts, had learned the art of war by contact with its stern realities.

In those preceding conflicts, New England moved as with one soul. The "old light" and the "new light" stood shoulder to shoulder. New Haven gave two heroic leaders, Whiting from the old Church, and Wooster from the new, both of whom rendered the most important services to their country, and one of whom lived long enough to die in the more desperate conflict of the revolution.*

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* A brief but just tribute is paid to the memory of these two citizens of New Haven by Prof. Kingsley, in his Historical Discourse, 68. It is not impertinent to transcribe here the title of an old pamphlet. "The Character and Duty of Soldiers illustrated, in a Sermon preached May 25, 1755, in the Rev. Mr. Noyes's meeting-house in New Haven, at the desire of Col. Nathan Whiting, to the military company under his command in the present expedition for the defence of the British Dominions in America. By Isaac Stiles, A. M. Published at the request of said Colonel, and the other officers of said company. *Who will lead me into Edom? Wilt not thou, O God! go forth with our hosts?*—DAVID. *So Joshua ascended from Gilgal, he and all the people of war with him, and all the mighty men of valor: and the Lord said unto Joshua, Fear not; for I have delivered them into thine hand;—there shall not a man of them stand before thee.*—JOSHUA. New Haven: Printed and sold by James Parker, at the Post office. MDCCLV."

# DISCOURSE XII.

CHAUNCEY WHITTELSEY AND HIS MINISTRY.—THE AGE OF THE REVOLUTION.

PSALM CXXIV, 1—3. If it had not been the Lord who was on our side, may Israel now say, if it had not been the Lord who was on our side when men rose up against us, then they had swallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled against us.

HAVING said all that the plan of these discourses will permit respecting the ministry of Mr. Noyes, I now proceed to speak of the life, labors and character of his successor.

The Rev. Chauncey Whittelsey was born at Wallingford, Oct. 28, 1717. His father, the Rev. Samuel Whittelsey, was the second pastor of the Church in that place, a man greatly distinguished in his day for his abilities and his public usefulness. His mother was a granddaughter of the famous President Chauncey of Harvard College. From both parents he inherited strong mental powers, which were highly cultivated by education. He graduated at Yale College in 1738, and continued his classical studies as a resident graduate on Bishop Berkeley's foundation. At the resignation of Rector Williams, which took place in 1739, Mr. Whittelsey was elected a tutor. He served the public in that office six years, and was concerned in the instruction of four classes, two of which received a great part of their education under him. Many of his pupils became afterwards greatly distinguished in the Church and in the commonwealth. President Stiles says of him,—"He was an excellent classical scholar, well acquainted with the three learned languages, the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but especially the Latin and Greek. He was well acquainted with Geography, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, and Astronomy, with Moral Philosophy and History, and with the general cyclopædia of Literature. He availed himself of the advantages of an academic life, and amassed, by laborious reading, a great

treasure of wisdom; and for literature, he was, in his day, oracular at College, for he taught with facility and success in every branch of knowledge. He had a very happy talent at instruction and communicating the knowledge of the liberal arts and sciences."* Religious himself from his early youth, he did not fail to urge religious truth and duty upon those who were under his instruction. His pupils afterwards regarded him with great respect. One of the most illustrious of them said of him, at his funeral, "I shall never forget the pathetic and earnest recommendations of early piety which he gave to us in the course of the tutorship."

It was during his official connection with College, that the institution, the town, and the whole of New England, were shaken with the religious agitation of 1740. At that very period, (Sept. 30, 1740,)† he was first licensed to preach as a candidate for the work of the ministry. Before this, in the first year of his tutorship, he was solicited to become a candidate for settlement in a neighboring parish, (Amity,) which he declined, partly because of his College engagements, and partly because he considered himself not yet qualified for the work. In reference to that request, I find him, recording in his private journal—of which a single leaf is all that remains—the following thoughts: "Having repeatedly commended my case to God by prayer, and, I think, strictly and impartially examined myself, I am obliged to think myself as yet too little acquainted with God, the Scriptures, human nature in general, and my own heart in particular, to venture to undertake the great and important work of the ministry. O God! fit me for that noble and honorable employment, if it be thy will that I should be improved in it. Let me not enter upon it without thy direction and blessing. Lord Jesus! mighty Head of the Church! fit me for thy service, and improve me in thy vineyard. But unless thou go forth with me, let me not go forth upon that weighty business. O may I never be an idle spectator or a slothful laborer in the vine-

* Funeral Sermon, 24. † Records of Association.

yard of my God. May I be willing to spend and be spent in the work of the Lord, and for the good and salvation of souls. May I wait God's time, be resigned to his will, aim at his glory, have more of the meek and humble spirit of Jesus Christ, be more and more weaned from the world, and live above it, that I may preach the gospel in truth, not influenced therein by the fear of man; but may I speak the truth boldly in Christ, and be blessed by him."

This is none other than that "tutor Whittelsey," known to thousands in both hemispheres as the man of whom David Brainerd declared: "He has no more grace than this chair!" David Brainerd came to College at the same time at which Mr. Whittelsey was introduced as tutor. During his Freshman and Sophomore years, he had "found divine life and spiritual refreshment" in the ordinances, and his soul had enjoyed "sweet and precious frames," even under the administration and preaching of Mr. Noyes. When Whitefield made his first visit here, Brainerd was spending his vacation at home in Haddam. Near the close of January, in his Sophomore year, he esteemed himself to have "grown more cold and dull in religion, by means of" his "old temptation, ambition in" his "studies." But in the month of February, he was quickened by "a great and general awakening" which spread itself over the College and the town.* In March, Gilbert Tennent, then returning from his labors in Boston to New Jersey, visited New Haven, and in the course of a week preached seventeen sermons, most of them in the meeting house, two or three in the College Hall; and thus the work previously begun, became an overpowering excitement.† Amid so great an excitement of feeling, in himself and in others around him, Brainerd's growth in grace was probably not equal to his enjoyment, or his activity in promoting the work. Six months afterwards, came Davenport with his wildfire, his denunciations, his extravagances, to draw off a part of the congregation and establish a separate meeting.

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* Edwards's Works, x, 45—50. † Hopkins's Life of himself.

Then it was preeminently that, in the words of Edwards, "an intemperate and imprudent zeal, and a degree of enthusiasm, crept in and mingled itself with the revival of religion." Then it was that Brainerd, far more than at any other period of his life, "had the unhappiness to have a tincture of that intemperate, indiscreet zeal which was at that time too prevalent, and was led from his high opinion of others whom he looked upon as better than himself, into such errors as were really contrary to the habitual temper of his mind." Then it was that those "imprudences and indecent heats," as he called them, found place in his diary, on account of which he afterwards on his death bed, consigned to the flames all the records of his feelings from January, 1741, to April, 1742. Then it was that when the rector of the College forbade his going to the separate meeting, he went in defiance of authority. Then it was that, on one occasion, after Mr. Whittelsey had been praying with the students in the College Hall, and had uttered his devout desires with more than usual pathos of expression, David Brainerd replied to a question by one of his zealous companions: "He has no more grace than this chair."

If what I have already quoted from Mr. Whittelsey's private journal, is not sufficient to show his humility, his jealousy of himself, his hungering and thirsting after righteousness, and his dependence upon Christ alone, and thus to demonstrate the slanderousness of Brainerd's rash judgment respecting him; let us examine a little farther the contents of this worn and broken leaf from the journal of the man whom Brainerd, inoculated with censoriousness, pronounced to be destitute of grace. Under the date of "Monday, July 6," 1739, he says, "Yesterday was sacrament, at which I renewed my covenant, at least externally, with the Lord Jesus Christ, having set apart the day before for preparation by fasting and prayer, and examination of my own heart. But I could not obtain that satisfaction as to my estate Godward, which I earnestly desire, and without which I cannot, and I pray God I may not be easy. My difficulty

is chiefly for fear I was never brought thoroughly off from myself and my dependence on my own works for acceptance with God, and to resign myself up entirely into the hands of a holy and sovereign God, and actually to close with, and receive Christ Jesus for my alone and all-sufficient Saviour, as my prophet, priest and king. Yet I feel in my soul some working so much like it, if it is not genuine, that I cannot entirely renounce my hopes. O Lord! let me not be deceived." "I am resolved, by Divine grace, that I will spend my *time* more carefully, and watchfully, and accountably for the future, knowing that that, and all my other talents, are not my own, but only lent to me to be improved; and that I have also dedicated them to the Lord. O how exceedingly have I come short of my obligations! Lord, forgive me, for Christ's sake; and enable me to live more to thine honor and glory hereafter. O whither shall I go but unto thee? Lord, help me under all my darkness and difficulty, for thy mercy's sake alone!"

"August 2d, Sabbath evening," he writes again, "This day I joined with the Church of Christ in this place in celebrating the sacrament of the Lord's supper." Then, having spoken of the lifelessness of his feelings in the ordinance, he adds, "I fear there is nothing right in me towards the Lord my God. But if there is, I have some way provoked the Spirit of God to withdraw from me. I am exceedingly depressed by my sins. Lord let me not be deceived for thy name's sake, for thy mercy's sake! For thy Son's sake have pity on me, and save me!"

The next date is "August 7th, Friday." "I have been all this week, and am still, exceedingly in the dark. O my sin! my guilt! Without Christ I see no way possible but that I must perish eternally. O Lord, let not what he has done and suffered be in vain to my soul. O that Christ might be mine, and I his. Surely, O Lord, there is none in heaven like unto thee, nor any on earth to be compared with thee." —"O can a holy God have pity on such a sinner as I have been? From such a lump of deformity as my heart, can

there be created a vessel of honor for the service of the great God? Lord, with thee all things are possible."

I might say now, if I supposed that there were any doubt here respecting the piety of this man, Compare these breathings of penitence and devotion with any parallel passages in Brainerd's own journal, and tell me whether even Brainerd's records seem more like the broken heart and the contrite spirit which God will not despise, or more like a heart that knows its own deceitfulness. But I choose rather to call your attention to another view. Brainerd, who always felt whatever he did feel with all his soul, and who knew as little as a child, of the analysis of complicated motives and emotions,—Brainerd, carried away with a gust of inconsiderate zeal and a spirit of censoriousness caught by his quick sympathy with others, and admiring the passionate extravagances of the wandering Davenport, saw nothing which seemed to him like the grace of God, in the staid, self-possessed, decorous piety of tutor Whittelsey. To him, the tutor's prayers against self-deception, and for a knowledge of the deceitfulness of the heart, however fervent and pathetic, however full of humiliation and contrition, seemed formal and dead, compared with the freedom and fearlessness, the familiarity and vulgarity of the itinerants, whose preaching caused so great an excitement. The rector and tutors, on the other hand, were very naturally dissatisfied with that sort of piety, which was inconsistent not only with what they esteemed decorum, but with the order of College, and with a due attention to the daily duty of study. They were alarmed at the growing propensity among the students to violate not only the rules of College, but the law of the land, by running away from the appointed place of worship to the separate meeting. They probably had an eye on Brainerd, as one who would be likely by his religious zeal to come into conflict with their authority. And very likely they were quite willing to be rid of him, and to inflict a signal blow upon the intemperate spirit of the times, by dealing sternly with him for that calumnious censure of his superior. Accordingly, Brainerd

was disgraced and expelled; and though he afterwards made ample and penitent confession of all that was wrong in his conduct on that occasion, he could not be restored. They doubtless had as low an idea of his piety, as he, in his most censorious mood, had of theirs. Their common error had a common cause. They judged of each other by a wrong standard. They yielded to their feelings, their party prejudices, their antipathies. Brainerd was a child of God, though he was carried away by the unhappy extravagances of the times,—even then the processes were going on within him, by which the Spirit of God made him, afterwards, so illustrious an example of holiness. He too, whom Brainerd pronounced graceless, was a child of God, notwithstanding his opposition to what Brainerd deemed the work of God;—even then he was keeping his heart with all diligence, and struggling to bring every thought into subjection to the gospel.*

In 1745, Mr. Whittelsey resigned his office in College, and for reasons which do not appear, relinquished his design of entering into the ministry, and settled in this place as a merchant. He continued in business about ten years. During all that time he was an active member of this Church and Society. He was brought forward by his fellow citizens into political life. He represented this town in the General Assembly of the colony, and "in a variety of public trusts he discharged himself with fidelity and growing influence."

At length, after the affairs of the Society had arrived at the greatest perplexity, the members and partisans of the separating congregation having become a majority in all society meetings, and the efforts to obtain the services of the College professor of divinity, as assistant minister, having proved

* Peabody (Life of Brainerd, 274) says in regard to the language so unfortunately uttered against Mr. Whittelsey, that it was "a phrase which that individual fully justified by his subsequent proceedings." What knowledge he has of Mr. Whittelsey's subsequent proceedings, he does not inform us. There is no particle of evidence, that the proceedings of the College government were instigated or directed by the injured individual. It may be presumed, that, so far as the College government is to be blamed, the blame belongs chiefly to the rector.

unsuccessful, the Church with entire unanimity elected Mr. Whittelsey to be colleague pastor with Mr. Noyes. The concurrence of the Society, as a legal body, was of course out of the question; for the Church and those who adhered to the old pastor had already become a separate meeting, with a place of worship erected by themselves. Instead of this, the members of the congregation worshiping with the Church, united in a subscription to a paper expressing their preference of Mr. Whittelsey, and pledging him a support in case of his settlement as pastor of the Church. Accordingly a council was convened, at the call of Mr. Noyes and the Church, on the last day of February, 1758. The Churches of Cheshire, North Haven, North Branford, Meriden, Milford, East Guilford, West Haven, and Amity, were present by their pastors and delegates. The vote of the Church, and the call and pledge by the members of the congregation, were laid before the council; and it was also shown that the Church in electing Mr. Whittelsey, "had proceeded regularly by the advice of the Association's committee and some neighboring ministers beside." A committee from the First Society in New Haven, appeared before the council and presented a vote of the Society, "declaring against the ordination of Mr. Whittelsey or any other candidate." The arguments and considerations offered by the committee in behalf of the Society were heard by the council; and then the committee of the Church was heard in reply. The decision of the council was, "that there had been no sufficient objections made against their proceeding;" and of course they proceeded to the customary examination of the candidate, which occupied the remainder of the day. The next morning when the council assembled, the Society's committee appeared again, and moved for liberty of an appeal, requesting that the affair of the ordination of Mr. Whittelsey might be laid aside, and removed from this ordaining council to the consideration and determination of the whole Consociation of the county. After mature consideration, "the council were of opinion that our ecclesiastical constitution made no

provision for, nor warranted appeals of that sort." Mr. Whittelsey was accordingly "separated to the work of the gospel ministry, and inducted into the pastoral office in and over the first Church and congregation of New Haven."*

At this time, Mr. Whittelsey was in the fortieth year of his age. His ministry, though begun so late in life, and in circumstances so inauspicious, was long peaceful, and for the age in which he labored, prosperous. The Church and congregation were perfectly united in him; and during the whole period of his ministry, there appears to have been no division among them, and no alienation of their affections from him.

I have said his ministry was prosperous, for the age in which he labored. This remark may need some explanation. That age was in several respects unfavorable to the prosperity of religion. The "religious commotion," as Edwards calls it, of 1740, or more strictly the extravagance of action and of opinion into which that revival degenerated, was long followed by a lamentable reaction. He who reads the letters of President Edwards during the latter years of his life, will find many strong testimonies to this. Let me give one or two specimens. The first is from a letter written as early as 1750. "It is indeed now a sorrowful time on this side of the ocean. Iniquity abounds, and the love of many waxes cold. Multitudes of fair and high professors, in one place and another, have sadly backslidden, sinners are desperately hardened; experimental religion is more than ever out of credit with the far greater part; and the doctrines of grace, and those principles in religion that do chiefly concern the power of godliness, are far more than ever discarded. Arminianism and Pelagianism have made a strange progress within a few years."—"Many professors are gone off to great lengths in enthusiasm and extravagance in their notions and practices. Great contentions, separations, and confusions in our religious state, prevail in many parts of the land."† In the same connection, he mentions the fact that

* Church records.

† Dwight, Life of Edwards, 413.

not a few had been drawn off from the Congregational worship, to a conformity with the Church of England; so that the numbers of that denomination in New England, had been multiplied threefold within seven years. In another letter, dated in 1751, he says, "There are undoubtedly very many instances in New England, in the whole, of the perseverance of such as were thought to have received the saving benefits of the late revival of religion, and of their continuing to walk in newness of life and as becomes saints,—instances which are incontestible and which men must be most obstinately blind not to see; but I believe the proportion here is not so great as in Scotland. I cannot say, that the greater part of supposed converts give reason, by their conversation, to suppose that they are true converts. The proportion may perhaps be more truly represented, by the proportion of the blossoms on a tree which abide and come to mature fruit, to the whole number of blossoms in the spring."*

The religious contentions which sprung up in so many places in connexion with, or soon after, the "religious commotion" of 1740—the alienation of Church from Church, and minister from minister, and party from party, the jealousy, the recriminations, the strife, and in many instances the settled hostility,—were greatly unfavorable to the progress of religion. When ministers and Churches excommunicate each other, and refuse to hold fraternal intercourse, because of differences that do not *directly* affect the essentials of Christianity; the surest effect, if not the first, is that religion falls into contempt. Such was, to a painful extent, the state of the Churches generally in New England through the latter half of the last century. Such was particularly the religious state of this community, for a great portion of that period. The violent rending of the White Haven Church from this, produced a wound which continued long unhealed. Mr. Bird was dismissed at the beginning of the year 1768; and, one year afterwards, the Rev.

* Dwight, Life of Edwards, 460.

Jonathan Edwards was ordained to the pastoral office in that Society. But this event, instead of putting an end to contentions previously existing, gave rise to a new division. A very considerable minority protested against the ordination of Mr. Edwards; but their objections were overruled by the ordaining council, it being hoped that the great talents of the pastor would unite the congregation. The opposition, however, instead of diminishing, increased, and about two years after the ordination of Edwards, another Church was formed by secession from his. This secession was incorporated as the Fair Haven Society; and, under the ministry of the Rev. Allyn Mather, it became in a few years the most numerous Society of the three. It was not in any orderly manner, nor by any consent of the parties, or of neighboring Churches, that this secession was effected. The division in many respects greatly resembled that which took place in 1742. And the three Churches, instead of uniting in any affectionate communion or in any willing coöperation for the common cause, united only in exposing religion to contempt, and in weakening the power of Christian institutions by their mutual hostility. That in such an age religion was not prosperous, will not seem wonderful.

That too was the age of the revolution. The preparation for the revolution, the long continued excitement of anxiety and alarm, at one measure and another attempted for the entire subjection of the Colonies to the crown or to the parliament, filled all men's hearts and thoughts. The interests at stake were the grandest interests of time, and when such interests were thus invaded, and men were gradually becoming inflamed for war, and arming themselves for combat,—who that knows the nature of man and the methods in which God ordinarily dispenses his grace, could expect religion to be prosperous?

And when at last the time of deadly conflict came, great as was the demand for faith in God, and for the highest and most heroic virtues,—who does not know that it was a time rather for the exercise and expenditure of virtues already

acquired, than for the diffusion of the influences of religion over the common mind? The time of war, of imminent and universal danger, of civil conflict, of revolution, when all foundations are breaking up, if it is a time when he that is holy may be holy still, is also a time when he that is filthy will be filthy still. Think of those days; think what a conflict it was when only three millions of people, to a great extent disorganized, disunited except by the pressure of a common danger and the bond of a common zeal for liberty,—dared to resist the power of the British empire. "If it had not been the Lord that was on our side, may Israel say, if it had not been the Lord that was on our side, when men rose up against us; then had they swallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled against us." How naturally was this text chosen by Mr. Whittelsey as the theme of discourse on a day of national thanksgiving,* while the war was raging, and while God was interposing with some of those remarkable providences which make the history of those years so interesting. How ought we, in view of the perils through which the God of our fathers conducted these States to complete political independence, to adopt as our own that ancient language of Hebrew devotion.

I find among the papers of Mr. Whittelsey, a note dated August 4, 1776, communicating to him a circular from Governor Trumbull, with the request that it be read at the close of public worship, and that the authority in this Society, and the committee of inspection, be invited to meet with the select men the next day. As there is a peculiar vividness in the impressions which such documents give us, I need not apologize for presenting it. The circular is addressed "to the civil authority, select men, committee of inspection, and all military officers in the town of New Haven," and is dated "Lebanon, August 1, 1776." The Governor says, "As I have the most pressing requisitions, urging the absolute necessity of having our new levies filled up, completed and for-

* MS.

warded with the utmost dispatch; and as delay may be attended with the utmost disastrous consequences, our enemies being about to use their utmost exertions as soon as the foreign troops arrive, which by the best intelligence are now on our coast, if not in port;—therefore in this critical moment, on which the fate of America depends, I do most earnestly entreat you all, as you value your lives, liberty, properties, and your country, that you immediately and vigorously exert all your influence, power and abilities, in encouraging and forwarding the enlistments within your respective spheres of influence and connections, that the same may be completed and sent forward with all possible expedition."

What a contrast between our peaceful Sabbaths, and those days when all the might of Britain was raised to crush our fathers in the act of asserting their constitutional liberty, and when the note of alarm calling the people to struggle against fearful odds for all their dearest interests, was sounded from the pulpit. Must not the prayers that went up to God in those times from the public assembly, have groaned with the burthen of the country's peril? On the back of this circular, I find, in the hand writing of Mr. Whittelsey, a prayer, obviously prompted by the occasion, and obviously designed to be incorporated with the public prayers of the day. It is in these words:—

"O thou Most High! as thou wast pleased to speak by thy prophet to Rehoboam and the people of Judah and Benjamin, so be pleased in thy providence to speak to the king of Great Britain and Ireland, Ye shall not go up nor fight against your brethren, but return every man to his house. And thus, without the farther effusion of blood, O God most high and gracious! may tranquillity be restored to the nation and to these American States. As thou didst then influence the minds of the men of Judah and Benjamin to refrain from the destruction of their brethren, so, O God! in whose hands are the hearts of all men, thou canst easily influence the minds of those who are invading our land, and threatening to lay us waste. Would to God that they might be influenced to desist from their cruel and destructive designs."

The public worship of this Church, it is believed, was not interrupted during the war. Other Churches were broken up; the congregations scattered; the ministers sometimes murdered, or compelled to flee; the houses of worship sometimes burned, and sometimes turned into barracks or stables by the enemy. Through the whole war, the hostile forces, knowing how much of the spirit of independence in the country was to be ascribed to the influence of our religious institutions, seemed to bear a particular malice against both meeting-houses and ministers of all denominations but one; and that one sustained such relations to the government of the parent country, that the peculiarity of its position is easily accounted for. In this place, as in most other places, the Episcopal Church was closed from the time when it became unlawful to pray for the king as our king, till the time when the recognition of our independence made it canonical to omit praying for him. Some ministers of that denomination, like the late excellent Bishop White of Pennsylvania, who was one of the chaplains to Congress, yielded to their patriotic sympathies, and felt that no vow of canonical obedience could be of force to annihilate their duty to their country. Others, whose conscientiousness ought not to be questioned, while their hearts were on the side of the country, were perplexed by their ecclesiastical subjection to the Church of England; and in the absence of any ecclesiastical authority in this country which they could recognize, they dared not deviate from the forms and orders of the English liturgy. Nor are those to be judged harshly, whose sympathies in the conflict were altogether with the parent country. England was as their home; thence they had long received their subsistence; thither they had long been accustomed to look with grateful and humble veneration; there were their patrons and spiritual superiors; and there were all their hopes of prevailing against the dissenters, and of building up in this western world, what they esteemed the only true Church. No Church has gained more than theirs, by the very revolution which they so dreaded;

for that revolution gave to their Church ecclesiastical independence, and the power of self-reformation.

This place you know was in one instance visited by the enemy, and was marked for conflagration. But by the blessing of God upon the vigorous resistance made by the citizens, the invaders were kept at bay till the inhabitants generally had escaped with the most valuable part of their movable property; and till the enemy, knowing that the whole force of the country around would soon be down upon them, were glad, after an hour of hasty plunder, to make their escape without accomplishing their design. Thus New Haven was saved from the flames which, within a few days afterwards, destroyed so many of the towns upon this coast.

In one instance, at least, while the war was in progress, the several Churches so far forgot their dissentions and prejudices, as to unite spontaneously in the appointment of a day of special prayer and fasting.* Our fathers believed in the efficacy of prayer. They believed that contending in a righteous cause, and committing that cause to God, their prospect of success even in the darkest times, was fairer than that of their enemies. But neither prayer nor fasting hindered them from the most strenuous effort. On the contrary,

* From Stiles's Lit. Diary, Aug. 12th, 1779. "Tuesday, last week, the ministers of the township of New Haven, met voluntarily, and agreed to propose to their Churches a voluntary Fast, on account of the distressing calamities and peculiar danger of the seaports; proposing Thursday, 12th inst. as the day. This was laid before the Churches and congregations last Lord's day, and approved. This day the nine Churches in the several parishes in this town observed, as a day of solemn fasting, prayer, and humiliation. It was observed here with great decency and apparent solemnity, the militia attending divine service. I went to Mr. Edwards's meeting in the forenoon. Mr. Whittelsey's and Mr. Mather's Churches agreed to meet together in Mr. Whittelsey's meeting house, which they did; as Mr. Mather is in ill health it relieved him of one exercise. I attended Mr. Whittelsey's, P. M., when he preached upon Isaiah xlviii; 9—11. The presence of God seemed to be with us all the day. Blessed be God that he has put it into the hearts of his people to seek to him in the hour of distress, especially now that we are threatened with the return of the enemy to lay New Haven, &c. in ashes. May God prepare us for his holy and sovereign will. I have great hope in God, that through his undeserved protection we shall be spared."

the same confidence in God which bowed their knees in prayer, made their arms strong in battle.*

At length peace came; and the land so long exhausted, began to revive. Then how did the temples of God ring with rejoicing! What joy was that when, after seven long years of desperate war, the great point in that bloody debate was carried; and Britain and the world acknowledged the independent sovereignty of the United States. Then began a new era in the history of our Churches. Then no longer in conflict, no longer in fear, the successors of the Puritan fathers, were to try anew, in new circumstances, and upon the widest field of action, the efficacy of their principles.

Mr. Whittelsey survived the termination of the war only about four years. He died on the 24th of July, 1787, in the seventieth year of his age, and in the thirtieth year of his ministry. His grave, like those of his predecessors, is covered by this sanctuary.

In the sermon preached at his funeral by President Stiles, and in that preached on the following Sabbath by Dr. Dana, we have a full delineation of his character.

"In this candlestick," says Dr. Stiles, "he has shone as a burning and shining light for about thirty years. He devoted himself to the work, and applied to the theological studies, and the duties of the pastoral office, with an ardor, zeal and assiduity equalled by few and exceeded by none. You are witnesses, and God also, how he has behaved himself among you, how he has warned every one with tears, how he has preached the unsearchable riches of Christ, and pressed and exhorted your reception of him with apostolic zeal and fervor. With a lively and animated ministry has

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* Hutchinson, having mentioned in his history (I, 230) one of those days of fasting which were so frequent in the early age of Massachusetts, apologizes in a note by saying, "Their dependence on these days was not such as caused them to neglect any other means in their power for promoting the public weal." The soldier who conforms to the first part of Cromwell's motto, will not be likely to neglect the second, "Put your trust in God, and keep your powder dry."

he appeared for a series of years in this desk, and displayed the redemption of the cross, and as an ambassador of the prince of peace, persuaded you to be reconciled unto God. And this his zeal burned to the last, and shone with flaming brightness in the sermons, with which he closed his ministry among you, so lately as but the Sabbath before the last.

"His elocution was loud and sonorous, it was curt and pathetic, it was pungent and striking; and yet I know it would not stand the criticism of Athenian rhetoric. There was a certain life and vigor, a certain engagedness in his manner, which impressed the auditory with a conviction, that he was in earnest in his Lord's work, that he was *solemnly in earnest* upon the most momentous concerns, upon which he spake with a seraph's zeal and with all the fervor of a burning oratory. He was a Boanerges, a son of thunder, a Barnabas, a son of consolation.

"His favorite subjects were the glories and excellences of Christ, the majesty of God, the atonement and righteouness of the Redeemer as the sole foundation of pardon, the grace of the gospel, the necessity of a life of holiness and moral virtue, and the glories of the heavenly world. But while he was a bold and open advocate for moral virtue, yet often have we heard him preach from this desk, that in point of *justification* there was no righteousness which could procure our acceptance with a holy God, but that of the MEDIATOR.

"In his life and general conversation, he was virtuous and benevolent. He had a singular talent at accommodating himself with ease to all characters, high and low, rich and poor. He had always something entertaining, instructive and edifying, something that made religion pleasant and agreeable. He was exceeding careful to avoid vilifying others, even his enemies; but was disposed to think and say good and kind things of all, and to live in love and benevolence with all, though they differed from himself in some material things. He went about doing good, and carried the savor of a cheerful, heavenly life in his conversation, speaking familiarly of the things of religion, heaven, immortality,

and the blessed society and beatific glories of the upper world. For many years he has expressed a most confidential hope, and I think I may say, an assurance of a happy eternity, which continued with him to the last. He always founded his hope on the grace of God and the merit of the Redeemer, and an inward consciousness that it would be his chief, his supreme joy to spend an eternity in the bosom of Jesus, and among the spirits of just men made perfect; and this he hoped had been wrought in him by the Spirit of God and the power of his grace.

"But the time fails me to enlarge further on these or other traits of his character,—on his love of LIBERTY, *civil* and *religious*,—on his patriotism,—on his catholicism and charity to his fellow Christians; not only towards those who agreed with him in sentiment, but towards those who widely, very widely differed from him; and on his being a friend to order and good government in Church and State.

"But while I say these great and good things of our deceased friend, far be it from me to be an advocate for the perfection of any human character. He had his imperfections. Yet when we consider how incident it is to characters of his magnitude, as well as others, in the course of a long life to make some capital mistake in conduct, or stumble upon some capital if not essential error or singularity in religion, it is rather to be admired that Mr. Whittelsey should have by Providence been carried through life so securely from both these. It must be a satisfaction upon scrutinizing a character, while we find many excellent things in it, to find only the common infirmities of human nature, to be covered with the mantle of charity, and the white robes of the Redeemer's righteousness."

The more polished and studied eulogium pronounced by Dr. Dana, while it coincides with the testimony of President Stiles, has one or two touches which indicate the character of the author quite as much as of the subject. Yet all is expressed with so much caution and truth, as well as beauty, that to attempt any correction would be to mar the picture.

"The foundation of Mr. Whittelsey's eminence in life was laid in superior natural endowments and an early thirst for knowledge. Suavity of temper and dignity of manners, with an early and decided choice of religion, commanded respect. From youth to old age he had a reputation which is better than gold.

"During his residence at the university as an instructor, and his after employment in merchandise and civil life, he acquired an accurate and extensive knowledge of men and things, and a large acquaintance with principal characters at home and abroad. These were desirable accessions to his special accomplishments for the ministry. Preferring the employment in which he might best promote the immortal and most important interests of mankind, he relinquished worldly prospects which would have allured most minds.

"He was distinguished as a gentleman, scholar, Christian and divine. He united the greatest affability with true dignity. Philanthropy, integrity and firmness strongly marked his character. He scattered the wicked with his eye. Possessing in a high degree the friendly and social affections, his conversation was always savory, enlivening and improving. His hospitality to his numerous friends was supported by economy and discretion in all his temporal affairs, and a rare activity and promptitude in every business he undertook. He discerned the proper time and opportunity for every purpose, the modes and seasons of address, and knew well how to redeem time.

"Numbers of first distinction in Church and State, having been his pupils, their known reverence and love of one who had imbued their minds with science and virtue, is his highest encomium.

"Thoroughly read in history, particularly ecclesiastical, he saw the errors and corruptions which have crept into the Church through a zeal for dictating in matters of faith, and was himself perfectly satisfied with the protestant confession. He was no disputatious theologist, but a practical rather than a controversial preacher. Persuaded of the truth of Christian-

ity, and deeply sensible of its importance, he was well able to defend it. In this cause he set his face as a flint. He lamented the decline of professors and prevalence of infidelity. Never ashamed of the gospel, he magnified his office by inculcating the doctrines of grace in connection with, and as motives to, evangelical holiness; by exhibiting the sacred Scriptures, not human systems, as the rule of faith; by ruling well the Church of God; and being an ensample to the flock.

"He was attached to the Congregational discipline. At the same time, being a consistent protestant, he asserted the equal rights of all denominations, and was open to the full influence of that charity which 'seeketh not her own, thinketh no evil, hopeth all things.'

"In preaching, his aim was to enlighten the mind and improve the heart. Perspicuity and forcible reasoning, energy of language and manner, elevation of thought, and originality of composition distinguished his discourses from the pulpit. Feeling the truth, dignity and importance of his subject, in composing his sermons, he seemed to have caught the fervor of St. Paul in delivering them.

"This evangelical minister revered the character of Emmanuel, and preached Jesus Christ and him crucified as the only foundation of acceptance with God. He was indeed a workman who needed not to be ashamed. With the activity, zeal and perseverance, he united the humility and prudence, the meekness and gentleness of Paul. With him he attended continually on his ministry, 'teaching publicly and from house to house, warning every one night and day, and teaching with all wisdom, that he might present every man perfect in Christ.'

"He possessed the gift and spirit of prayer above most of his brethren. Grace was poured into his lips in public and private, on all occasions. How have we been edified and warmed with the variety, copiousness and pertinency of his prayers! Such was the elevation of his heart in devotion, that he seemed to be caught up to heaven.

"Diligent to know the state of his flock, and naturally caring for it, his pastoral visits were frequent, and judiciously conducted. He 'opened his mouth with wisdom.' His heart was open to the tenderest sensibility, and in all your afflictions he was afflicted. He presided over his flock with fidelity and impartiality, with gravity and dignity; and made himself servant unto all, that he might gain the more.

"His religion was equally free from affected austerity, and from levity of temper, from bigotry and indifference. He could address you, as Paul the Corinthians, 'Not that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy. Be ye followers of me, even as I also am of Christ.'

"Amidst the intricacies of providence, allotments not joyous but grievous, he exhibited a serenity of temper and joy in divine government, which manifested the commanding influence of the faith that overcomes the world. He had learned to glory in tribulation.

"The course of the ministry which he fulfilled with you was twenty nine years and upwards. How he took heed to fulfil it, let those say who were best acquainted. You, my brethren, knew his manner of life from his youth to the day of his departure—after what manner he conversed, taught and lived; how he was with you at all seasons, serving the Lord with all humility, affection, and fervency, counseling, comforting, persuading, warning and admonishing, as a father his children—how he 'travailed in birth, that Christ might be formed in you.'

"He wished not to exceed seventy years. According to his desire, his usefulness as well as life was protracted to this period. When it came, he closed the scene with the same serenity and constancy of mind as he had ever lived. He was ready to be offered, having like comfortable reflections in the review of his life and ministerial warfare as the holy apostle, and a like prospect of a crown of righteousness. His old age was amiably splendid as the clearly setting sun. His past days looked back upon him with the smile of friendship. And the morning of immortal felicity dawning on his soul,

gloriously irradiated the valley of death. We saw the aged saint commend his soul to God, full of faith, looking up stedfastly into heaven, seeing the glory of God, and Jesus on his right hand."

Those among us who remember this venerable man, are only a few; but I have never heard one of them, or of the others who, since I have been here, have gone to the dead, speak of him but with a sort of affectionate veneration. When he died, the feeling found utterance among men of all parties and of the strongest prejudices, "that if any man had ever gone to heaven, good old Mr. Whittelsey had gone thither."

I introduced his religious character to your view, by exhibiting a leaf from the journal of his feelings in early life. We saw him struggling with perplexities, uttering the desires of a wounded spirit, and the groans of a broken heart, and hardly daring to indulge the hope which yet he dared not repress. Ere we take our leave of him, I am permitted to show you, from another of his private papers, what were the exercises of his mind when his religious character had attained its full maturity. The paper now referred to, is an occasional memorandum, dated "April 8, 1767, Fast day."

"I am now in the fiftieth year of my age. Looking back upon my life past, and looking into myself, I have great reason, O God! to be deeply humbled in thy sight.

"The advantages I have enjoyed have been very great; but my unfruitfulness is a full proof that they have been but ill improved.

"I now have, and for many years have had, a prevailing comfortable hope, through the grace of the gospel, that my eternity will be happy.

"I cannot indeed but be astonished at this grace of God, astonished that there is any room for one so unworthy as I am, to hope. I truly appear to myself the chief of sinners; nor is it easy for me to think any other in the world is so unworthy as I am, or that any other of the redeemed will be so much beholden to free and rich grace as I shall. But it is

this very grace which, I do not say excites me to resolve I will be, but constrains me to *be* the servant of God and the Redeemer without reserve and forever. And yet since I have known this grace of God, how inactive, how forgetful, how worldly minded, how sensual, have I been. Many times that I can call to mind, the world, and at other times the flesh, have seemed for a season to have got the ascendant; but fresh views of the extent and the exceeding riches of the grace of God in Christ, have encouraged me, and even constrained me to hope afresh; and it has been the language of my heart, in opposition to every lust and every worldly interest, 'I am the Lord's.' I have felt myself infinitely obliged and infinitely indebted, and have loved to feel myself under these bonds. It is now pleasant to live, because I live upon God, and I see God in all, in all that befalls me, in every thing that surrounds me. It is pleasant to go to the throne of grace, not because I am worthy, but because there is grace sufficient for me altogether unworthy. It is pleasant to fight in the Christian warfare, even without any direct consideration of the crown which will be given to him that overcometh; it is pleasant from the consideration of the leader and captain under whom, and the cause in which I am engaged,—a leader whose directions are infallible, and whose grace is all-sufficient,—and a cause in which all the excellent ones of the earth have been, and to the end will be, unitedly engaged.

"Thus for days, it may be weeks, I go on, vigilant, cheerful, and I may even say happy. But in a little while, alas! I seem to lose a sense of the grace of God, a sense of my Redeemer, and of my obligations. But then, again, fresh views of the extent of the exceeding riches of the grace of God in Christ, captivate, encourage and engage me afresh.

"O thou God of all grace! may these views be more and more lively, permanent and steady. I am never so happy as when every thought and imagination is brought into subjection to the obedience of Christ. Then, the more firmly I can trust in the mercy and grace of God in Christ Jesus, the

more entirely do I feel myself devoted to God, and the more resolved and ready to do every thing that God requires of me."

Such were the devotional exercises of this good man, twenty years before his death. I may add here, that his friend Dr. Stiles was with him in his last moments. They had often conversed together about death and heaven; and Mr. Whittelsey had for a long time expressed habitually a full assurance of hope, a confidence that knew no fear of dying. Dr. Stiles was desirous to see the triumph of that confidence, in the hour of dissolution. He came into the room just as death was beginning. Taking his friend by the hand, he said, "Do you feel now the full assurance of hope? If you would say yes, and cannot speak, answer me by the pressure of your hand. Do you feel now the full assurance of hope?" The aged saint rallied his dying strength, and with a struggle answered distinctly, "Yes." His wife, children, and grandchildren, kneeled around the bed,—a few words of prayer and thanksgiving were uttered, and the mortal had put on immortality.*

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* Mr. Whittelsey's published works were several occasional Sermons, the titles of which are subjoined:

A Sermon occasioned by the death of Mrs. Abigail Noyes, 1768.

A Sermon, preached at the ordination of Rev. John Hubbard, in Meriden, 1769.

A Sermon at the funeral of Mrs. Mary Clap, relict of President Clap, 1769.

Election Sermon, 1778.

Beside these, I have seen somewhere a printed Sermon of his, delivered about the year 1745, to a graduating class, of which he had been the principal instructor.

# DISCOURSE XIII.

## JAMES DANA AT WALLINGFORD AND NEW HAVEN.—THE PAST AND THE PRESENT.

ECCLESIASTES, vii, 10.—Say not thou, What is the cause that the former days were better than these? for thou dost not inquire wisely concerning this.

As we approach the close of this history, and begin to touch upon the doings and reminiscences of the living, our views must be more cursory, and we must advance with increasing rapidity.

After the death of the venerable Whittelsey, the pulpit was supplied for a season, according to one of the most beautiful of the ecclesiastical usages in New England, by the neighboring pastors—each of the thirteen ministers who were present at the funeral, volunteering to give one Sabbath's service for the benefit of the widow of their deceased brother and father.* Immediately afterwards, the Rev. Dr. James Dana, of Wallingford, being at that time free from the labor of preaching in his own Church, was called in to supply the vacant pulpit statedly. In January, 1789, the Church and Society, with great unanimity, elected him their pastor; and on the 29th of April, he was inducted into the pastoral office. Dr. Dana preached the sermon at his own installation, which I believe is the latest instance of that ancient usage in New England. Thus, in less than two years after the Church's bereavement, another pastor was harmoniously settled.

Dr. Dana, at the time of his removal to this Church, was more than fifty years old. He was born at Cambridge in Massachusetts, about the year 1735, was educated at Harvard College, where he graduated in 1753, at the age of eighteen, after which he appears still to have resided at Cambridge for some time. In the year 1758, the Church in Wallingford, having been without a pastor ever since the death of Rev.

* Stiles, Lit. Diary.

Samuel Whittelsey in 1752, and having been somewhat divided into parties in consequence of hearing various candidates, was advised by some of the neighboring ministers to send to Cambridge for a new candidate. Accordingly a messenger was sent with a letter to the Rev. Dr. Appleton of Cambridge, the Rev. Dr. Chauncey of Boston, and the President of Harvard College, asking them to nominate, and send to Wallingford, some suitable and worthy candidate for the ministry in that place. Dr. Chauncey happening to be absent, the selection of a candidate devolved on Pres. Holyoke and Dr. Appleton; and at their nomination, Mr. Dana was requested to come to Wallingford for settlement.

This arrangement proved less happy for the Church and Society in Wallingford than was expected; for though both the Church and the Society, with apparent harmony, united after a few weeks in giving Mr. Dana a call, the voting of the call was immediately followed by the organization of a strong opposition, promoted, as was supposed, by some of the ministers of the neighborhood. A council, selected according to the undisputed usage of those days, was invited to meet for the ordination. The opponents of Mr. Dana, on their part, determined to prevent his ordination, by bringing a complaint before the consociation of the county. The consociation was accordingly summoned to meet for the purpose of attending to a complaint against the regularity of the proceedings of the Church and Society, and against the orthodoxy of the candidate. Whether it was by accident or design, is not known; but so it was, that the two councils, the one called by the Church and Society to ordain Mr. Dana, the other called by the minority to prevent his ordination, met in Wallingford on the same day,—and a memorable day it was in the ecclesiastical history of Connecticut. The story is too long to be repeated here in detail. The various pamphlets that were published respecting the "Wallingford Controversy" in the day of it, are a volume.* Dr. Trumbull has

* A Faithful Narrative, &c. By Jonathan Todd, A. M., a member of the ordaining council.—A few Remarks upon the ordination, &c. By William

related the particulars with great honesty of purpose, but not without some bias from his personal and party prejudices. Let it suffice to say here, that the Church and Society, and Mr. Dana, being cited to appear before the consociation, appeared and denied with strong arguments the jurisdiction of that council over any Church in such a case as that;—that the ordaining council, though expressly and solemnly forbidden by the consociation, went forward and ordained the candidate;—that the consociation, finding themselves thus baffled, and perceiving that the affair was becoming very complicated, determined to call in the aid of the neighboring consociation of the southern district of Hartford county, and adjourned accordingly for three weeks;—that when at the appointed time the two consociations assembled in a joint meeting, Mr. Dana and the Church and Society still refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of that body, as the case was then situated;—and that the two consociations, after trying the case as well as they could when the parties to be tried refused to plead on any point but that of jurisdiction, declared the relation between Mr. Dana and the Church and Society to be dissolved;—and finally, that after waiting several months to see the effect of their doings, they pronounced a sentence of non-communion against Mr. Dana and the Church, acknowledged the minority to be the consociated Church in the First Society in Wallingford, and denounced the ministers and delegates of the ordaining council "as disorderly persons, and not fit to sit in any of our ecclesiastical councils, until they

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Hart, A. M., Pastor of the First Church in Saybrook.—Some Serious Remarks upon the Rev. Mr. Jonathan Todd's Faithful Narrative, &c. By Edward Eells, A. M., Pastor of the Second Church in Middletown.—The Principles of Congregational Churches, &c. By Noah Hobart, A. M., Pastor of the First Church in Fairfield.—A Letter to the Rev. Mr. Noah Hobart. By R. Wolcott.—Remarks on a pamphlet wrote by Mr. Hobart, &c. By William Hart.—A Vindication, &c. By Noah Hobart.—A Reply, &c. By Jonathan Todd: Together with an Answer, &c. By William Hart.—Some Remarks upon the claims and doings of the Consociation, &c. By Andrew Bartholomew, A. M., Pastor of the Church in Harwinton.—The Wallingford Case Stated, &c.

shall clear up their conduct to the satisfaction of the council of New Haven county."

What added to the violence of these proceedings, was, that the controversy was at bottom a conflict between the old light and new light parties, not only in Wallingford and in New Haven county, but throughout the colony. Mr. Dana was of that party which had opposed the revival of religion; his settlement in so large and important a Church, would be a triumph of that party, which had already become a minority in the county and in the colony; and therefore the new light men were determined by all means to prevent the ordination, and when the thing was done, to undo it if possible. The old light party had previously attempted to use the peculiar constitution of the Connecticut Churches as an engine of oppression. They had carried matters with a high hand while they had the power, interfering arbitrarily with the rights of pastors and of Churches; and now they found the very enginery which had been so convenient to them, turned against them. So true is it that they who take the sword shall perish by the sword, and that the violent shall find their violent dealing coming down upon their own heads. So true is it, too, that when parties run high, no party can be trusted to guard any body's liberty or interests but their own. Whatever party happens to wield power, will make the most of it, if necessary to their party ends, though by contradicting all the professions and complaints of their weaker days.

Mr. Dana and the ministers by whom he was ordained, being thus excluded from all ecclesiastical and ministerial intercourse with the other pastors of the county, formed an association by themselves, which was upheld till the year 1772, or later, when a sort of amnesty was proposed by the ministers who had formerly denounced them, parties,—and persons too,—having changed in the mean time.*

From that great Wallingford controversy and a few similar conflicts, one result has arisen of no small importance to

* Stiles, Lit. Diary.

the Churches. I have already had occasion to show, that the Saybrook Articles of Discipline, commonly called the Saybrook Platform, were originally a compromise between two parties, the one inclined to a high Presbyterian form of government, the other holding strongly the great Congregational principle, of the competency and inalienable liberty of each particular Church to manage its own affairs. Hence that instrument has always been subject to two diverse interpretations. The one, which may be called the Presbyterian construction, gives to the consociation of the district a general and complete superintendency over the Churches, condemns all other councils as irregular, and claims for the decisions of the consociation, in cases of appeal, a juridical authority, so that they are to take effect not by the consent or acquiescence of the Church appealed from, but by their own intrinsic power. The other, which we may call the Congregational construction, maintains, that the Congregational principle of the liberty of every particular Church is unimpaired by the Platform, and that the consociation is nothing else than a council of Congregational Churches, convened and organized by a particular rule. In 1740, and for a few years after, when the "old lights" were the majority, and were oppressing Mr. Robbins of Branford, and Mr. Allen of West Haven, they were of course great sticklers for the consociation, and for the Presbyterian construction of its powers; and then it was that the "new light" party in New Haven were so deeply aggrieved, because Mr. Noyes and the Church had declared this Church to be under the Saybrook Platform, that Messrs. Cook, Bellamy, and other new light ministers, for that one reason, proceeded to organize them into a separate and independent Church,—a Church in which the original prejudice against consociations is alive and vigorous at this day. In 1759, when by the change of parties the "new lights" were no longer a minority, they in their turn had become strict upholders of the Presbyterian construction of the Platform; and then it was that Mr. Noyes and Mr. Whittelsey, the colleague pastors of this Church,

were by a vote of the consociation condemned "as disorderly persons and not fit to sit in any of our ecclesiastical councils," so that this Church has been for eighty years as effectually alienated from consociations as the other. Thus the Presbyterian construction of the constitution having been tried on all sides both actively and passively, has in the progress of time been pretty generally abandoned; consociations have learned that if they are to do any good, nay, if they are to have any being, it must be as Congregational councils, and not as Presbyteries. The spirit of Congregationalism, such as Congregationalism was when Thomas Hooker and John Davenport and the synod at Cambridge were its expounders, prevails throughout the Churches of Connecticut, and with perhaps a few exceptions, throughout the ministry.

Mr. Dana being introduced to the pastoral office in such circumstances, was of course a man of suspected orthodoxy. Probably his theological views when he began to preach, were those which in that day were becoming prevalent in the region about Boston,—views which there, in the course of one or two generations, beginning with opposition to the extravagances and enthusiasm of the revival, and growing into opposition to what was called bigotry and superstition, ripened into Unitarianism. It is commonly reported however, that as he advanced in the ministry, his opinions on the great points of Christian doctrine became more sound, and his feelings more evangelical. However this may be, it is certain that as the ministers and Churches of Connecticut began to be better acquainted with him, and to recover from the fright occasioned by the extraordinary manner in which he was settled, they were constrained to recognize him as a man of great talents and learning, of great judgment and prudence in the management of affairs, of great fearlessness and conscientiousness in performing what he conceived to be his duty, and of eminent public usefulness. And when the "old light" and "new light" parties were superseded by parties founded on the differences between the "old divinity" and the new, Dr. Dana, who at an early age

was honored by a theological doctorate from the University of Edinburgh, became a strong defender of the "old divinity" against the opinions, of which Dr. Bellamy, Dr. Hopkins, Dr. West of Stockbridge, and Dr. Edwards, were the fathers and supporters. Some of the peculiarities of the "new divinity" which Dr. Dana opposed, were the denial of the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity,—the assertion of man's natural ability to love God and keep his commandments,—the denial of the tendency or fitness of the means of regeneration to accomplish their end,—the hypothesis that sin, in all instances in which it occurs, is on the whole better for the universe than holiness would be in its place, and is therefore not merely permitted by the Father of lights, but preferred to holiness in its stead, and introduced by his positive efficiency,—and the dogma, generated by some strange speculations about disinterested benevolence, that a willingness to be damned for the glory of God is an essential condition of salvation. The new light men and their successors, much as they venerated President Edwards, much as they honored Bellamy and some of the others as Edwards's favored disciples, did not all become new divinity men. Some of them, at least, astounded at the stupendous dogmas of Hopkins and West, were willing to acknowledge Dana as orthodox in comparison with these inventors of new divinity, and to forget the heresy and schism of his youth, for the sake of the strength with which he could lead them to war against such metaphysical giants as those of Bethlehem, and Stockbridge, and Newport.

Another cause which operated to overcome the public prejudice against him, was his early and decided position in favor of our national independence. There was a time, while the revolution was approaching, when public sentiment in Connecticut had by no means become unanimous as to the expediency of attempting to stand against the British government, or of taking any measures which might sever the tie between the colonies and the parent empire. The eastern part of the State was somewhat in advance of

the western, and, if I mistake not, the "new lights," as a body, were a little before the old light or conservative party as a body. So slow was Governor Fitch in coming up to the grand movement of the day, and consenting to the adoption of strong measures, that during the agitations consequent upon the stamp act, he lost the confidence of the people and lost his office. It was not far from this time that Dr. Dana, then a young man, was invited to preach in Mr. Whittelsey's pulpit on one occasion while the legislature was in session in this place. Many, particularly of the eastern members, would have refused to hear so suspected a preacher, if they had not understood that he was strongly on their side in politics. Their curiosity, and their confidence in his political orthodoxy, overcame their dislike of his ecclesiastical irregularity. His audience therefore included all the leading political men of the colony. Expecting, or at least hoping for such an audience, he had prepared himself for the occasion. His text was, Heb. xi, 24, 25. "By faith, Moses when he was come to years, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season." And though to men not in the habit of looking for a double sense, the sermon might have seemed far enough from having any political bearing, there were few in that audience who did not see the meaning. As the preacher illustrated and vindicated the conduct of Moses "when he had come to years," it became very plain that Connecticut, having come to years, was old enough to act for herself, and trusting in the God of Israel, to refuse to be any longer dependent upon Pharaoh. As he held up for imitation the faith of the great Hebrew lawgiver, whom all the blandishments of royalty could not pervert, whom the wrath of the king could not deter, and who renounced the court and identified himself with the cause of the wronged and oppressed people, there was no hearer who did not see for himself, in the contrast, the picture of those timid politicians of the times, who were likely to become the tools of the court. No man was

ever more than he a master of that sort of eloquence, in which "more is meant than meets the ear." The prejudices of his auditors were vanquished. From that time forward, whenever the General Assembly held its session at New Haven, it was expected of course that Mr. Whittelsey would gratify the members by exchanging once with his brother Dana.*

At Dr. Dana's installation here, the council consisted of twelve ministers and twelve delegates. Among the ministers, were Dr. Edwards and Mr. Austin, of the two younger Churches in this town; and these, I believe, were the only ministers in the council who would be considered decided "new divinity" men. The council met at nine o'clock in the morning. The preliminary questions having been attended to, Dr. Dana, instead of being examined as examinations are usually conducted on such occasions, read to the council, a written statement of his religious opinions, concise, cautious, but clear and comprehensive, with some pungent allusions to the "new divinity" of the times. After the reading of this document, Dr. Edwards, as the champion of a newer and more thorough orthodoxy, undertook to examine him by asking him questions. The questioning being finished on Dr. Edwards's part, Dr. Dana retaliated, by proposing a series of questions for the examiner to answer. Both had prepared themselves beforehand; and both appear to have brought their questions in writing to the place of meeting, Dr. Dana doubtless anticipating some such collision. Dr. Edwards, as appeared afterwards, did not obtain satisfaction. Whether Dr. Dana was satisfied, we are not informed.†

For some years before the death of Mr. Whittelsey, there had been so much of peace among the Churches in New Haven, that the monthly sacramental lectures were united, and were preached at the three houses of worship in rotation. But immediately after Dr. Dana's installation, the ministers of the other two Churches refused to hold so much com-

* This incident is related on the authority of the late Judge Chauncey, one of the hearers of the sermon.

† Appendix, No. XIII.

munion with him, being advised to that course by their friends West, Smalley, and others, on Dr. Edwards's representation that Dr. Dana, besides being opposed to the "new divinity," was unsound respecting the Trinity, the doctrine of election, and the doctrine of future punishment. "Yet," says Dr. Stiles, in recording this fact, "all the rest of the council were satisfied that the Dr. was sound as to all these points." In relation to the doctrine of the Trinity, his confession of faith at his installation, though cautious in its statements, holds forth distinctly the doctrine recognized as orthodox. Respecting a future state of punishment, his printed sermons are explicit in denying the possibility of any salvation or repentance hereafter to those who die in their sins.* I think, however, notwithstanding Dr. Stiles's testimony, that his doctrine of election was nothing more than that which is commonly known as the Arminian doctrine on that subject.

The ministry of Dr. Dana in this Church was for the most part peaceful and quiet; but none who remember that the great end of the ministry is to "win souls," and by the blessing of God, to bring men under the full power of the gospel of Christ, can call it successful. The average annual addition to the number of communicants during his ministry of sixteen years and a half, was only between five and six—ninety three in all. Two services on the Lord's day, the monthly sacramental lecture, the occasional catechising of the children, and the annual public fast and thanksgiving, were all the religious meetings known in the congregation; and very little more was known, I believe, in any other congregation here. So far as I can judge by tradition or by reading Dr. Dana's sermons, the hearer under his preaching did not often feel that he was hearing that upon the immediate acceptance of which his soul's salvation was depending. The preacher, though he deemed it a point of orthodoxy to believe in the tendency of means to the spiritual renovation of men, did not believe in that constitutional ability of men

* See his sermon on that subject, in Sermons to Young People, 381.

to repent upon the hearing of the word, which brings the sinner under an immediate responsibility. The tendency of his preaching was not so much to lead men to immediate repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ, as it was to put them upon using the means of grace, in the expectation that salvation would somehow be the result. Under such a ministry, whether it be called "old light," "old divinity," or "old school," or by any other name of orthodoxy, vital religion, the turning of men from their sins to God, cannot be expected greatly to prosper.

Yet it deserves to be noticed, that the period of Dr. Dana's ministry in this Church, especially the former part of it, was the period immediately following the revolutionary war, when the disastrous and demoralizing influences of that long conflict were felt most powerfully in all the Churches; and when the country in the joy of its new liberty, and in its sympathy with the hopes and horrors of the French revolution, was continually blazing with intense excitement—the period in which the long darkness that ensued upon the extravagances of 1740, was just the deepest—the period in which the ministry of so gifted and evangelical a divine as the younger Edwards, came to an end in this very town for the want of success*—the period just before the com-

* The history of Dr. Edwards's ministry cannot be given here. The first century in the history of the Church to which he ministered will soon be completed; and then I trust his successor will do him ample justice. He was dismissed from the charge of the White Haven Church and Society, at the request of the Society, and by his own consent, May 19, 1795. The grand reason offered for his dismission was, that the Society—which at his ordination, twenty six years before, was far the largest and wealthiest in New Haven—had so strangely diminished that there was no alternative but that of dismissing the minister or dissolving the Society. All parties, however, the Church, the parish, and the council, united in the most ample testimonials to his faithfulness and his abilities. Dr. Edwards was afterwards pastor of the Church in Colebrook, whence he was called to the presidency of Union College. He died at Schenectady, Aug. 1801, aged 56.

The Rev. Samuel Austin was ordained over the Fair Haven Church Nov. 1786. He was dismissed Jan. 1790, was afterwards pastor of the First Church in Worcester, Mass., and then President of the University of Vermont. He retired from that station in 1821, and died at Glastenbury, Dec. 1830, aged 70.

mencement of those great, successive, spreading religious awakenings, which characterize the last forty years of our ecclesiastical history. The fact, that during such a period, the ministry of Dr. Dana was not eminently successful, is not at all wonderful. Let us thank God, not that we are better than the men of those days, but that we live in better times.

The year 1795 is marked by the appearance of a new light in the ecclesiastical history of New Haven, and not of New Haven or Connecticut only, but of America. In that year, President Dwight, one of the most eloquent, accomplished and successful of preachers, as well as one of the most evangelical of theologians, came to the presidency of Yale College. From that time, the Churches here began to be conversant with preaching of a higher order, not so much in respect to style and manner, as in respect to weight and clearness of thought, and cogency of application, than any they had for a long time before been accustomed to hear. From that time, too, there began to come forth young preachers, formed not only by his example as a model, but by his moulding power as an instructor, whose labors in their various spheres, are his greatest and most enduring memorial.

Dr. Dana, by his discretion, and his dignified propriety of conduct; by his diligence and courage in visiting the sick, especially in times of pestilence, when some other ministers retreated from the danger; by the venerable beauty of all his public performances, particularly his prayers; and by his unquestionable reputation for learning and wisdom; continued to hold the affections of the people much longer than most men could have done in similar circumstances. Those times were, not less than the present, times of change. White wigs, and cocked hats, and the staid formal manners of the days before the revolution, were fast losing all their venerableness. The love of novelty, always strong in human nature, was stimulated by the great changes, political, commercial and moral, consequent upon the revolution which had made us an independent nation, and upon the adoption

of the Federal Constitution, which, by compacting the union of the States, had not only secured their growth and prosperity, but had subjected them to the most powerful mutual influences. In this town, there were some peculiar local causes which operated to awaken the desire of change. The two societies of White Haven and Fair Haven, having dismissed their pastors through acknowledged inability to sustain them, had reunited in one Society, (Nov. 27, 1796,) the largest and strongest in the town, and in these respects the most likely to attract new comers. This United Society had settled as its pastor, the Rev. John Gemmil, from Pennsylvania, whose full-orbed popularity at his first coming here soon began to wane, and who, after a ministry of four years, was dismissed, Nov. 22, 1802, leaving not many friends behind him. Amid all these disturbing influences, and notwithstanding the growing infirmities of age, Dr. Dana appears to have lost nothing of the respect of his own people or of the community.

But in the winter of 1804–5, he was confined for some time by illness; and the pulpit was supplied by Mr. Moses Stuart, then recently licensed as a candidate for the ministry. Hardly any two things, both worthy to be called preaching, could be more unlike than the preaching of the old pastor, and that of the young candidate. Dr. Dana, partly from the circumstances in which he was placed at his first settlement in Wallingford, when all ears were open to catch any inadvertent expression which might be construed into heterodoxy, and partly from the natural cautiousness of his temper, had acquired the habit of preaching on many of the most important and stirring topics of Christian doctrine, with something of that diplomatic vagueness, if I may so call it, which leaves little impression upon the feelings, and less upon the memory. The consequence was, especially as he grew old, that to the majority of hearers, and particularly to the young, his sermons were wanting in impressiveness, containing no strong points strongly urged home upon the moral sensibilities, or strongly debated with the intellectual faculties. Ac-

cordingly, when the old man was once silent for a season, and a young man of strong impetuous eloquence occupied his pulpit, the people, and especially the younger part of them, found out all at once that their pastor, then three score and ten years old, was indeed an old man. Arrangements were immediately commenced to obtain the services of Mr. Stuart as colleague with Dr. Dana. This effort failed, because of the reluctance of the candidate, to be connected with a colleague who, it might be presumed, did not regard the movement with cordial approbation. On the 30th of July, 1805, the Society by vote signified their will "that Dr. Dana retire from his pastoral labors." This vote was in effect the dismission of the aged pastor, the Society having reserved to itself, at the time of his settlement, the power of dispensing with his pastoral services whenever it should seem proper to do so. The relation of Dr. Dana to the Church and Society was formally dissolved by an ecclesiastical council, in December, 1805; and then the way being clear, the Society immediately elected Mr. Stuart to be their pastor. On the 20th of January, 1806, the Church concurred with the Society in the call. The ordination of Mr. Stuart took place on the 5th of March. What has taken place since that date may be considered as belonging to the history of our times, and will therefore be passed over with only a few general notices.

The ministry of Mr. Stuart, though short, was signalized by a memorable revival of religion, which marked the beginning of a new order of things in the history not only of this Church, but also of that in the United Society. The ordination of the Rev. Samuel Merwin, in the other Church, took place about a year before the ordination of Mr. Stuart in this. From the date of Mr. Stuart's settlement, all ancient differences between these Churches were buried in oblivion. At sacramental lectures, and on many other occasions, the two Churches were united as one. Frequent exchanges of pulpits on the part of the two pastors, tended to increase the mutual affection between the Churches, and the sense of a common interest. Thus the seriousness, and the awakened

attention to the things of religion, which pervaded one congregation, was felt equally in the other; and better days were enjoyed in New Haven than had ever been known here before.

On the ninth of January, 1810, Mr. Stuart, after having served the Church as pastor a little less than four years, was dismissed at his own request, the Church and Society reluctantly consenting. Having been invited to the professorship of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover, he considered himself called in the providence of God to relinquish the pastoral office, and to be employed in forming the minds and hearts of others, for the service of the spiritual temple.

For two years after the removal of Professor Stuart, the Church was without a pastor. On the 8th of April, 1812, the vacancy was filled by the ordination of the Rev. Nathaniel W. Taylor. In this ordination, Dr. Dana officiated as moderator of the ordaining council, joined in the laying on of the hands of the presbytery, and in the name of the council gave the charge to the candidate. During the ministry of his immediate successor, his stern and wounded feelings had forbidden him to unite with this Church in public worship. Still more had he felt himself forbidden to sit under the preaching of the man, for whom the Society had treated him, in his old age, with what he esteemed great disrespect. He had therefore withdrawn, and at the College chapel had attended on the ministry of President Dwight. The effect of this had been in one important respect happy. Formerly he had entertained strong prejudices against the President, looking upon him as tinctured with the "new divinity" not only of his grandfather, the first Edwards, but also of his uncle and theological teacher, the second. But his six years' attendance on the preaching of the President, and especially his hearing that four years' course of sermons on the doctrines and duties of religion, which, since it was given to the public, has been read by so many thousands of intelligent men in all evangelical denominations with equal

admiration and profit,—went far to annihilate his prejudices. He is said to have acknowledged, not only that he thought much better of Dr. Dwight than formerly, but also that the preaching of Dr. Dwight had led him to new views of some important subjects. Accordingly he saw with gratification the progress of measures for the settlement of one of Dr. Dwight's favorite pupils over what had once been his own beloved flock. Occasionally he came to the old meeting house, to join in the worship which he had formerly been accustomed to lead. The sight of his venerable form in the old place awakened old affections. The Society expressed by vote their pleasure at seeing him, and their desire that he would attend there in future. The gentleman who was appointed to communicate to him this vote, lately gave me some account of the interview. "Dr. Dana," said he, presenting a copy of the vote, "I have a communication for you from the Society." "Please to read it, Sir," said the old man in reply, putting the paper back into the hands of the other, and straightening himself up to a little more than his usual dignity. The vote was read distinctly, and with due emphasis. "Please to read it again, Sir," said the doctor, still sitting in stiff and antique dignity, with his thin ghastly countenance unmoved, as if he were something between a ghost and a monument. Again the communication was read, with earnest desires that it might make a favorable impression. "It is well," said the old man, and his voice quivered and broke as he uttered his reply, "I know not but that I may say, Lord now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace." On the first Sabbath after Mr. Taylor's ordination, Dr. Dana, at the invitation of the young pastor, took his seat in the pulpit; and there he was seen thenceforward every Sabbath till his last sickness. He died in August of that year, (1812,) at the age of 77.* The sermon at his funeral was

* Dr. Dana was one of the Fellows of Yale College from 1799 till his death. The following is believed to be nearly a correct catalogue of his published works.

Sermon on the death of John Hall, Esq. 1763.

preached by Dr. Dwight. His remains rest in the new burying ground.

During the ministry of Mr. Taylor, which continued eleven years and a half, the years 1815 and 1816, and the years 1820 and 1821, were signalized by large accessions to the communion of the Church.

Mr. Taylor was dismissed in December, 1822, according to the advice of a council, called for the purpose of giving light to the Church on the question, whether he ought to accept the professorship of Didactic Theology, then recently established in Yale College. However the congregation may have been a loser by that decision which removed him from the immediate oversight of their spiritual interests; and however he in that more conspicuous station has been exposed to buffetings which in the pastoral office he might have avoided, the great and common cause, the cause of Christian truth and of the world's salvation, has been, we trust, the gainer.

The present pastor first stood in this pulpit on the first Sabbath in October, 1824, having been ordained the week before to the work of an evangelist. He was installed on the 9th of March, 1825, and is now in the fourteenth year of

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Two Sermons on faith and inscrutable Providence, preached at Cambridge. 1767.

A Century Discourse in Wallingford. 1770.

Examination of Edwards on the Will. 1770. Published anonymously.

Examination, &c., continued. 1773. Published with his name.

Sermon on prayer. 1774.

Christmas sermon in the Episcopal Church, Wallingford.

Discourse on capital punishments. 1790.

Sermon on the African slave trade. 1791.

Sermon at the installation of Rev. Abiel Holmes at Cambridge. 1792.

Sermon on practical Atheism. 1794.

Sermon at the ordination of Rev. E. Waterman at Windham. 1794.

Sermon preached at the funeral of President Stiles. 1795.

Two Discourses, I. On the new year: II. On the completion of the 18th century. 1801.

Sermon on the death of Ebenezer Grant Marsh. 1803.

Sermon on the character of scoffers, preached in Hartford. 1805.

Sermons to young people. 1806.

Three sermons in the American Preacher.

his official relation to this Church. The years 1828 and 1831, were years in which God was pleased to crown a most imperfect ministry with blessed success. The years 1832, 1835, and 1837, though less distinguished than the two first mentioned, are also to be remembered with gratitude.

Having made this acknowledgment of the goodness of God, I will not attempt at this time to review my own ministry any farther than to say, that in the constant kindness of a most affectionate people, in the wisdom and frankness with which those gifted with wisdom have ever been ready to counsel me, in the forbearance with which my imperfections and errors have been treated, and in the stimulus which the presence of an intelligent community, accustomed to judge by the highest standards, has afforded, I have had great occasion for gratitude to the Providence that has cast my lot here, and for humiliation, that amid such advantages my correspondent profiting has not been more manifest to all men.

In this review of the history of two centuries, I have continually seen the illustration of one lesson which I desire never to forget, and which I hope you will remember. While I have felt the impulses of that natural enthusiasm which admires whatever is venerable with antiquity, the studies which have made me far more familiar than I was before, with the men, the opinions, and the conflicts of former times, have been quickening in me the conviction, that THE GOLDEN AGE IS NOT IN THE PAST BUT IN THE FUTURE.

The golden age of heathenism was in the remotest past. It was followed, as the fabling poets taught, by the age of silver, that by the brazen age, and that by this last age of iron. According to this view the world is, and ever has been, progressively degenerating. How gloomy such a faith, how dispiriting to noble enterprise, how powerful in its tendency to selfishness! The golden age of Christianity on the contrary is in the future, when "the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the tops of the mountains, and exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow towards it and be saved," when "the nations shall learn war no more,"

when "the wolf shall lie down with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them." Toward that consummation, that complete and universal triumph of the kingdom which is righteousness, and peace, and joy,—all things under the universal providence of God are tending. To those cheering pictures of a renovated earth filled with knowledge, peace and love, the eye of faith and of active or suffering virtue is ever looking. And every act of virtue, from the most conspicuous to the humblest,—every aspiration of true prayer, adds its little contribution to bring on the golden age to come, those "last days," when "the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be seven fold, as the light of seven days."

Some view allied to the heathenish doctrine of a golden age, is always natural. And if at any time our confidence in the immortal energy of truth, in the veracity of God's predictions, or in the all-controlling providence of God, grows weak, it is easy for us to become alarmed at the progress of change, and easy to pass from alarm to despondency. This is peculiarly easy with minds of a melancholic temperament; and such minds, in this world of change, need to be armed with a double measure of faith in him who permits and bounds all changes according to infinite wisdom and love.

The world is always full of a certain sort of "conservativism" which places the golden age not indeed so far back as the heathen poets placed it, but just far enough back to make it a constant motive to despondency. You can always find men who seem to think that the golden age was somewhere from fifty to two hundred years ago, and that ever since that indefinite point in the past, the world, and the Church too, has been degenerating. They are not ordinarily very well read in history, but they have a strong impression, that in those good old times every thing was very nearly as it should be. That was the age of orthodox theology; that was the age of revivals without new measures; that was the

age of tranquility in the Churches; that was the age of sound principles in politics; that was the age of good morals. But alas for us! we are fallen upon the most "evil days and evil times" that ever mortals lived in. This class of "conservatives" has been in the world ever since the deluge; and always they have held the same language, like the hypochondriac who on every day in the year was "better than he was yesterday but worse than he was the day before." Against such feelings, so discouraging to faith and to benevolence—so dishonorable to the gospel and to its author, the careful and minute survey of past ages is well fitted to guard us.

The truth is, that of all the ages since New England was planted, we live in the best age, the age in which it is the greatest privilege to live. The self-styled conservatives of this age are scared at "new divinity." So was Dr. Dana in his day scared at the "new divinity" of Bellamy and Hopkins. They are scared and scandalized at "new measures." So was Mr. Noyes, in his day, scared at the "new measures" of Davenport and Tennent. They are scared at women's preaching, taking it for an omen that the world is getting old and crazy, as if there had been in other ages no Mrs. Hutchinson, no Deborah Wilson, no Mary Fisher. They are scared at itinerant agitators who broach strange and disorganizing doctrines respecting Churches and ministers, laws and magistrates; as if some doctrine had been invented more radically destructive than were the doctrines, or had been published in terms more abusive than were the manners, of George Fox and his emissaries. Undoubtedly this age has its evils, its perils, its downward tendencies. It is eminently an age of progress, and therefore of excitement and change. It is an age in which the great art of printing is beginning to manifest its energy in the diffusion of knowledge and the excitement of bold inquiry; and therefore it is an age when all opinions walk abroad in quest of proselytes. It is an age of liberty, and therefore of the perils incidental to liberty. It is an age of peace and enterprise, and therefore of prosperity, and of all the perils incidental to prosperity. It is an

age of great plans and high endeavors for the promotion of human happiness; and therefore it is an age in which daring but ill balanced minds are moved to attempt impracticable things, or to aim at practicable ends by impracticable measures. If we could exorcise the spirit that moves men to do good by associated effort on the grandest scale, perhaps we might be rid of some few ill concerted enterprises that importune us for coöperation. If we had war instead of peace, and robbery instead of commerce, we should soon be rid of the evils attendant on national prosperity and this vast accumulation of the outward means of human happiness. If our liberty were abolished, our free schools, our equal rights, our elective government, we should be rid of the perils of this constant political agitation. If the universal circulation of books and newspapers were taken away, and the waking up of mind in all directions were quieted, if all religious worship and instruction were regulated by the sovereign and made to conform to one standard, if intellectual culture and general knowledge could be confined to the "better classes," and they would be content to take every thing by tradition; we might have a very tranquil state of things,—all calm as the sea of Sodom. But so long as we have liberty, civil, intellectual, and religious; so long as we have enterprise and prosperity; so long as the public heart is warm with solicitude for human happiness; so long we must make up our minds to encounter something of error and extravagance; and our duty is not to complain or despair, but to be thankful that we live in times so auspicious, and to do what we can in patience and love, to guide the erring and check the extravagant.

When the car rushes with swift motion, he who looks only downward upon the track, to catch if he can some glimpses of the glowing wheel, or to watch the rocks by the wayside, that seem whirling from their places, soon grows sick and faint. Look up, man! Look abroad! The earth is not dissolved, not yet dissolving. Look on the tranquil heavens, and the blue mountains. Look on all that fills the range of

vision,—the bright, glad river, the smooth meadow, the village spire with the clustering homes around it, and yonder lonely, quiet farmhouse, far up among the hills. You are safe; all is safe; and the power that carries you is neither earthquake nor tempest, but a power than which the gentlest palfrey that ever bore a timid maiden, is not more obedient to the will that guides it.

What age since the country was planted, has been more favorable to happiness or to virtue than the present? Would you rather have lived in the age of the revolution? If in this age you are frightened, in that age you would have died with terror. Would you rather have lived in the age of the old French wars, when religious enthusiasm and religious contention ran so high, that ruin seemed impending? How would your sensibilities have been tortured in such an age! Would you rather have lived in those earlier times, when the savage still built his wigwam in the woody valleys, and the wolf prowled on our hills? Those days, so Arcadian to your fancy, were days of darkness and tribulation. The "temptations in the wilderness" were as real and as terrible as any which your virtue is called to encounter.

The scheme of Divine Providence is one, from the beginning to the end, and is ever in progressive development. Every succeeding age helps to unfold the mighty plan. There are indeed times of darkness; but even then it is light to faith, and lighter to the eye of God; and even then there is progress, though to sense and fear all motion seems retrograde. To despond now, is not cowardice merely, but atheism; for now, as the world in its swift progress brings us nearer and nearer to the latter day, faith, instructed by the signs of the times, and looking up in devotion, sees on the blushing sky the promise of the morning.

# APPENDIX.

## No. I.

### DAVENPORT'S DISCOURSE ABOUT CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

"A Discourse about civil government in a new plantation whose design is religion. Written many years since by that Reverend and worthy minister of the gospel, John Cotton, B. D. And now published by some undertakers of a new plantation, for general direction and information. Cambridge, printed by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson. 1673."

This is the title of a tract of twenty four pages, small quarto, in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Cotton Mather in his Life of Davenport, (Magn. III, 56,) says that in this title page, "the name of Mr. Cotton is by a mistake put for that of Mr. Davenport." The testimony of Mather is perhaps sufficient in itself to decide the authorship, inasmuch as his father, who was the son-in-law of Cotton, and particularly acquainted with Davenport, may be presumed to have authorized the statement. The internal evidence however seems to me to demonstrate not only the author of the "Discourse," but the occasion on which it was written.

1. The tract was written *in New England.* "*We* in this new plantation." p. 10. "*These* very Indians that worship the Devil, will not be under the government of any Sagamores but such as join with them in observance of their *pawawes* and idolatries." p. 24.

2. It was written probably by a man who had been in Holland,—certainly by one familiarly acquainted with that country. "In Holland, when the Arminian party had many Burgomasters on their side, Grave Maurice came into divers of their cities with troops of soldiers, by order from the States General, and put those Arminian magistrates out of office, and caused them to choose only such as were of the Dutch Churches. And in Rotterdam (and I think it is so in other towns) the Vrentscap, (who are all of them of the Dutch Church and free burgers,) do out of their own company choose the Burgomaster and other magistrates and officers." pp. 23, 24. Cotton never was in Holland. Davenport resided in that country about

three years, and his "Apologetical Reply" was published at Rotterdam.

3. It was written before the reign of the long parliament. "In our native country, none are entrusted with the management of public affairs but members of the Church of England, as they call them." p. 23. There is a peculiar tone in this language which no New England Puritan would have used while the parliament was reforming the Church of England. It could not have been written after the restoration, for in 1673, it was "written many years since."

4. It was written not for publication, but in the way of private and amicable discussion with a friend,—a "Reverend" friend,—with whom the writer had opportunities of personal conference. It is in the form of an epistle, commencing thus:—"Reverend Sir, The Sparrow being now gone, and one day's respite from public labors on the Lord's day falling to me in course, I have sought out your writing, and have reviewed it, and find (as I formerly expressed to yourself) that the question is mis-stated by you." p. 3. So at the conclusion,—"If you remain unsatisfied, I shall desire that you will plainly, and lovingly, and impartially weigh the ground of my judgment, and communicate yours, if any remain against it, in writing. For though much writing be wearisome unto me, yet I find it the safer way for me." p. 24.

5. It does not appear to have been written with any purpose of vindicating a constitution already established, but rather with reference to a question of practical moment not then decided. The manifest design of the whole composition is inquiry and discussion, rather than the vindication of something already determined. "The true state of the question" is declared thus:—"Whether a new plantation, where all, or the most considerable part of the free planters profess their purpose and desire of securing to themselves and to their posterity the pure and peaceable enjoyment of Christ's ordinances,—whether, I say, such planters are bound, in laying the foundations of Church and civil State, to take order that all the free burgesses be such as are in fellowship of the Church or Churches which are or may be gathered according to Christ; and that those free burgesses have the only power of choosing from among themselves civil magistrates, and men to be entrusted with transacting all public affairs of importance according to the rules and directions of Scripture?" The writer proceeds, "I hold the affirmative part of this question, upon this ground, that this course will most conduce

to the good of both states; and by consequence to the common welfare of all, whereunto all men are bound principally to attend in laying the foundations of a commonwealth, lest posterity rue the first miscarriages when it will be too late to redress them," &c. "The Lord awaken us to look to it in time, and send us his light and truth to lead us into the safest way *in these beginnings.*" p. 14. So in another place, "We plead for this order *to be set* in civil affairs, that such a course *may be taken* as may best secure to ourselves and our posterities the faithful managing of civil government for the common welfare of all." p. 12. Now the principle for which this discourse contends, was settled in Massachusetts before Mr. Cotton came to New England, and I believe was never afterwards, in his life-time, made the subject of such questionings as would lead to the writing of such an epistle.

From these various indications it seems altogether probable, not only that this tract was written, as Mather affirms, by Davenport; but also that it was written at Quinnipiack sometime between April 15th, 1638, and June 4th, 1639, while the constitution of New Haven was not yet formed. It seems probable also, that the letter was addressed to Samuel Eaton, who during that period was Davenport's assistant in the work of the ministry, and who, as Mather says, dissented from his colleague "about the narrow terms and forms of civil government" adopted in this colony. Nor will it be thought fanciful to suppose that this letter was one of "the former passages between them two," of which Mr. Davenport gave "a short relation" at the meeting in Mr. Newman's barn "on the fourth day of the fourth month, called June, 1639," when one man whose name is not recorded, objected to the principle, that "free burgesses should be chosen out of the church members."

Another inquiry suggests itself. The tract was written when the departure of "the Sparrow" concurring with one Sabbath's respite from preaching, gave the author time for such a study. Are there any traces elsewhere of "the Sparrow?" In 1622, a ship of that name appears in the history of Plymouth. She was sent over by Mr. Thomas Weston of London, and having been employed on a fishing voyage at the east, was retained at Weston's ill-starred plantation of Wessagussett. (Davis's Morton, 78. Baylies' Memoir of Plymouth, 92, 95.) That the same Sparrow was afloat, and on the New England coast as late as 1638, let others affirm or deny. But what had the author of this tract to do with the Sparrow? If it be sup-

posed that in the spring or summer of 1638, the Sparrow came to Quinnipiack, bringing Mr. Davenport's books and household goods, and laden with similar freight for the planters, it may easily be conceived, how the time of her remaining in the harbor might be a time when the friendly debate between Mr. Davenport and Mr. Samuel Eaton, must needs stand still. This is a trifling conjecture; but *inest sua gratia parvis.*

This pamphlet is the most formal exhibition that I have ever seen, of the reasons by which our ancestors themselves vindicated that principle in their polity, which has been so much condemned and ridiculed. It has therefore an importance as a historical document, which might win for it a place in the collections of the Historical Society.

The last of the six arguments by which the author maintains the affirmative of his question, is "taken from *the danger* of devolving this power upon those who are not in Church order." "The dangers to the Church are (1) the disturbance of the Church's peace, and (2) the danger of corrupting Church order, either by compelling them to receive into fellowship unsuitable ones, or by imposing on them ordinances of men and worldly rudiments, or by establishing idolatrous worship." "The dangers to the civil State are (1) the danger of factions,—there will naturally be a party opposed to the Churches, and (2) the danger of a perversion of justice by magistrates of worldly spirit." With men who had had a taste of the Star Chamber, and who had come so far to "enjoy Christ's ordinances in purity and peace," every word in this enumeration of dangers had great significancy.

## No. II.

### THE PRIMITIVE ORDINATIONS IN NEW ENGLAND.

THE statement on page 41, that the act of ordination at the organization of a Church was performed by two or more brethren in the name of the Church, is made with some hesitation, but with very little doubt:—with some hesitation, because it asserts as generally true, what is commonly considered as an exception; yet with very little doubt, because the statement corresponds with all the evidence which I have been able to discover. Johnson (Wonder Working Prov., II, Mass. Hist. Coll. vii, 40,) undertakes to declare how "all the Churches of Christ planted in N. England" "proceeded in religious matters," yet he describes the ordination of a pastor as performed by "two persons in the name of the Church," after which, prayer is offered by "one of the elders present." Lechford's testimony is to the same effect, (p. 3.) I remember no instance in Winthrop, of an ordination performed by an elder called in from a neighboring Church. The Cambridge Platform (C. ix,) says, "In such Churches where there are no elders, imposition of hands may be performed by some of the brethren orderly chosen by the Church thereunto." The language evidently implies that such was the ordinary and regular course in the case described. The authors, instead of intimating that this ordination by a committee is doubtful or inexpedient, only add, that "where there are no elders and the Church so desire, we see not why imposition of hands may not be performed by the elders of other Churches."* If a synod should now say, "We see not why imposition of hands may not be performed by brethren

* The notions of Cambridge Platform respecting ordination were not at the time so entirely novel as some imagine. Archbishop Cranmer was very much of the same way of thinking. "In the admission of many of these officers [he is speaking of all officers, ecclesiastical and civil] there be divers comely ceremonies and solemnities used, which be not of necessity but only for a goodly order and seemly fashion. For if such offices and ministrations were committed without such solemnity, they were nevertheless truly committed." Stillingfleet's Works, Irenicum, 401. So again, "In the New Testament, he that is appointed to be a bishop or a priest, needeth no consecration by the Scripture, for election or appointing thereto is sufficient." 402.

in the name of the Church," would the language imply that imposition of hands by a committee is the ordinary course of proceeding? It is matter of record that in the ordination of Mr. Prudden over the Milford Church, (1640,) the imposition of hands was by brethren, though it was done at New Haven, and therefore, doubtless, in the presence of Mr. Davenport. So again in the ordination of Mr. Newton over the same Church, (1660,) the ruling elder was assisted by one of the deacons and one of the brethren. So again in the ordination of John Higginson at Salem, in the same year, (Hutchinson, I, 425.) Can any authentic instance be found, of a primitive New England ordination performed by the officers of neighboring Churches?

Contrary to all the primitive testimony, we have the declaration of Cotton Mather (Mag. V, 42,) "that setting aside a few plebeian ordinations in the beginning of the world here among us, there have been rarely any ordinations managed in our Churches but by the hands of presbyters." This shows plainly enough that the custom in his day was the same as in ours, and the context shows that Mather was anxious to obliterate as far as possible the memory of a contrary custom. It may be added, that the only time when such ordinations were expected to take place, was at what Mather calls "the beginning of the world here." A church once organized was expected to have, and for the first half century did ordinarily have a presbytery within itself, by whose hands subsequent ordinations were performed. Nor should it be forgotten, that the ministers thus ordained by committees were men previously ordained by bishops in England, and that their re-ordination here was similar to what we now call installation; so that those who, like Pres. Stiles, are fond of tracing their sacerdotal pedigree to the English bishops, and through them to the apostles, may easily make out an "uninterrupted succession," notwithstanding these "plebeian ordinations." See Stiles's Election Sermon, 59—64.

It may seem audacious to attempt to correct the editor of Winthrop; but I may be allowed to inquire whether, in his note on ordination by bishops, he has not mistaken the meaning of his author. (Savage's Winthrop, I, 217.) At a council in Concord, April, 1637, "it was resolved by the ministers then present, that such as had been ministers in England were lawful ministers *by the call of the people there, notwithstanding their acceptance of the call of the bishops*, (for which they humbled themselves, acknowledging it their

sin, &c.,) but being come hither, they accounted themselves no ministers, until they were called to another Church." Upon this the editor remarks, "Ordination by a bishop in England must have been thought valid, for by that rite it was that all the other ministers asserted their claims to office, as we may see at the election in August, 1630, of Wilson to the first Church of Boston." "But how it should be a sin, yet a valid entrance or admission to the Christian ministry, can be explained only by such timid casuists as humbled themselves for their act in submitting to it."

With all deference to this most learned and honored antiquarian, I remark,

1. That in Gov. Winthrop's account of the ordination of Wilson, not a word is said about his having derived any claims from ordination by a bishop in England. "We used imposition of hands, but with this protestation by all that it was only as a sign of election and confirmation, not of any intent that Mr. Wilson should renounce his ministry he received in England." Winthrop, I, 33.

2. That the lawfulness of the ministry of such as had been ministers in England depended on the implied call of the people there, and was therefore lawful, "*notwithstanding*" the acceptance of prelatical ordination.

3. That the sin which they so humbly acknowledged, was not that ministry received and exercised in England, which Mr. Wilson did not renounce, but their submitting to the supposed ordaining power of the bishops, which was an invasion of the divine right of every Church to ordain its own ministers.

## No. III.

### SPECIMENS OF CHURCH DISCIPLINE.

THE early records of the New Haven Church exhibit the course of proceedings in only one instance of trial and censure, and in one instance of absolution or the restoration of an offending member to regular standing. The proceedings in these instances seem to have been put on record, as specimens of church discipline; that posterity might know both the principles and the forms by which such proceedings were then conducted. That there were other instances of excommunication is manifest from other sources, and particularly from the records of the town; but either by the loss of the records, or the negligence of the proper officer, or—what is more probable—because no record of such transactions was considered necessary, the Church book, as we have it, is silent respecting them.

For the sake of the authentic and lively pictures of that age, which the two records above referred to exhibit, I transcribe the most material parts of the former, and the whole of the latter.

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*"A brief story of Church proceedings with Mrs. Eaton the Governor's wife,* for divers scandalous offenses which she gave to sundry out of the Church.*

"Matters being prepared, they were propounded to the Church by the ruling elder, in the public assembly, the fourteenth day of the sixth month, 1644, after the contribution on the Lord's day, as followeth:

"The elders have understood by divers of the brethren that they do wait for, and expect to hear, what issue the business that concerns Mrs. Eaton is brought to. The elders have not neglected the looking after it, but have now prepared matters for the heariug of the Church. If the brethren be willing that she shall be now called

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* He who reads Mather's Life of Eaton carefully, cannot but observe the emphasis with which the biographer speaks of the happiness of Eaton with his *first* wife. Mather doubtless knew that the second Mrs. Eaton, though a bishop's daughter, was not a comfortable mate.

forth, they have the particulars to read unto you. And if they said nothing against it, they should take their silence for their consent.

"And after a little pause, the brethren being silent, the ruling elder called Mrs. Eaton forth. Then our pastor, Mr. Davenport, stood up and spoke as followeth:

"Brethren you do, I suppose, expect some account from the elders, of the issue of all the pains and patience which hath been exercised by the Church towards our sister, Mrs. Eaton. I am sorry that we cannot give in such a return as might answer all our desires. The public offense which she knows is grievous to us, she still continueth in, departing from the assembly whensoever baptism is administered, or else absenting herself from the sermon and from all public worship in the congregation, though she knoweth that it is an offense to the whole Church. How she fell into this error, you partly know. Her will was gained to it before her judgment, and therefore she sought some arguments or other against the baptizing of infants, and to that end spake with the Lady Moodey,* and importuned her to lend her a book made by A. R.; which having gotten into her hands she read secretly, and as secretly engaged her spirit in that way. For she neither asked her husband at home, according to the rule 1 Cor. xiv, 35, (whose faithfulness and sufficiency to have held forth light to her according to God, we all know,) nor did she seek for any light or help from her pastor according to the rule Mala. ii, 7, though in other cases she hath come freely to him, and departed from him not without fruit; nor did she seek help from the body whereof she is a member, nor from any members of this body, save that she showed her book with the charge of secrecy to one or two whom she hoped to gain to her party, and so to have made way for a further spread of her infection in the body. The first discovery of her peremptory engagement was by her departing from the assembly after the morning sermon when the Lord's supper was administered, and the same afternoon, after sermon, when baptism was administered, judging herself not capable of the former, because she conceited herself to be not baptized, nor durst she be present at the latter, imagining that pædobaptism is unlawful. In a meeting of the Church among themselves on the third day following, some of the brethren

* For some account of this lady, who was excommunicated from the Church in Salem, 1643, and "to avoid further trouble" in Massachusetts "removed to the Dutch" and settled at Gravesend on Long Island; and who probably stopped here in her migration, see Savage's Winthrop, II, 123, 136.

desired that Mrs. Eaton would declare her reasons whereupon she thus did and held. She professed her inability to speak, but told us of a book she had, which had taken her off from the grounds of her former practice; for she formerly thought that baptism had come in the room of circumcision and therefore might lawfully be administered unto infants as that was. Hereupon I asked her whether if that point were cleared she should be satisfied? She seemed to assent. Then I undertook (with the help of Christ) to examine her whole book, and the next third day to begin to speak to the first part of it in the meeting of the Church among themselves, and the next Lord's day to begin to preach out of Col. ii, 11, 12, thence to prove that baptism is come in the place of circumcision and is to be administered unto infants, and so to answer the second part of the book; which as you know hath been done, with a blessing from God for the recovery of some from this error, and for the establishment of others in truth. Only Mrs. Eaton [received] no benefit by all, but continued as before. Which when I perceived, thinking that there might be some defect in her understanding what was spoken, or in her memory, I put myself voluntarily to a further task for her good; and wrote out what I spoke in the Church alone in answer to the former part of the book, and what I preached in public to the next assembly on the Lord's day, and got them to be wrote out in a fair hand, and sent them to her husband for her use, with this request, that it would please him to join with himself Mr. Gregson and Mr. Hooke, to whom probably she would give ear sooner than to others, and let one read A. R. and the other read my answer, by several portions, that she might understand what was read and have liberty to object for her satisfaction while things were in her mind. This they did, though she showed much backwardness and unwillingness thereunto; and when they had read to a period and prayed her to speak if she had any thing to say, she neither would object nor yield to the truth, but behaved herself with such contemptuous carriages that they were discouraged in the beginning. But at my desire they returned to it again, and continued thus reading till they had gone through the book, and then left with her both A. R. and the Answer. After this I waited to see if her own private reading would have any better success. When I saw that she continued still as she was, nor did propound any question, I marvelled at the hand of God herein, which to me seemed dreadful, fearing that, as before she would not seek light, so now God would not give her an heart to receive light.

Whilst I was thus sadly exercised, divers rumors were spread up and down the town of her scandalous walking in her family, which were in the mouths of many before they came to my knowledge, being almost continually in my study and family except some public work or private duty call me forth. At last I with two or three of the brethren who had also heard of this common fame, considered what we were called to do, and concluded that it being a thing commonly and scandalously reported, the rule requireth that we should inquire, make search, and ask diligently whether it were true,—Deut. xvii, 13, 14, by proportion. Accordingly Mr. Gregson, Mr. Hooke, and myself, went to Mr. Eaton, told him what we heard commonly reported, and prayed him to certify us whether the things were so or not. He desired us to speak with his wife, which accordingly we did. She desired us to ask her mother and daughter and servants, they both being present, and calling the forenamed into the room where we all were. Upon inquiry it appeared the reports were true, and more evils were discovered than we had heard of. We now began to see that God took us off from treating with her any further about the error of her judgment, till we might help forward by the will of God her repentance for these evils in life, believing that else these evils would by the just judgment of God hinder [her] from receiving light, and that repentance for these would further light and receiving the truth,—according to John vii, 17. We therefore agreed to deal with her in a private way. To that end, because the matter was past the first step, or degree of one with one, being known to us all, we went together to speak with Mrs. Eaton, and held forth the particulars and the rules broken by them, and left it with her, exhorting her to repent. And having waited a convenient time, but without any fruit saving a discovery of her hardness of heart and impenitency, we told her that we must acquaint the Church with this matter,—and labored with her to prevent it in part at least, by taking up the matter in private, by holding forth her repentance privately for such particulars as were not commonly reported; for we were unwilling to bring forth such things into public; and some of them were of a smaller kind or degree of evil than some other evils, and therefore might more easily be ended if it pleased her,—and began to read some of them to her. She refused to give any private satisfaction for any,—told us that these also were common talk, and that she herself had met with reports of them in other houses. We answered that, nevertheless, seeing that we had not heard of them,

we were not bound to take notice of them in public, nor would, if the Lord would help her to see the evil of them, and to hold it forth in private. She utterly refused, and told us we labored with her in vain, and should have no other answer, and wondered that the Church did not proceed. Thus we are compelled to bring sundry particulars of which she was privately admonished unto the public notice of the Church, because she refused to hear us in a private way,—according to the rule in Matt. xviii, 17. There were almost as many more which we leave out (nor did privately admonish her of) because they are not sufficiently proved by two witnesses as these are, and these such witnesses as herself hath not excepted against their testimony, though she hath been often desired to object or answer, what she pleased. The elder will now read the particulars to you.

"*The several facts for which the Church censured Mrs. Eaton.*

"1. That Mrs. Eaton one day sitting at dinner with Mr. Eaton and old Mrs. Eaton,* Mrs. Eaton struck old Mrs. Eaton twice on the face with the back of her hand, which Mrs. Eaton saith she felt three days after; and Mr. Eaton sitting at table held his wife's hands, and whilst Mr. Eaton held his wife's hands she cried out with such vehemency of spirit, 'I am afflicted! I am afflicted,' as her mother saith she thought she might be heard over to Mr. Davenport's. Witness, old Mrs. Eaton, and ——. Herein is broken the fifth commandment in breaking the rules of her relation to her mother; and also the sixth commandment is broken in her sinful rage and passion, and in striking her mother.

"2. Mrs. Mary Eaton† being knitting a pair of gloves, and when she had knit a piece of a glove, her mother said she had knit a glove and a piece, which Mrs. Mary denied, and said she had not knit so much. Her mother upon this grew outrageous, struck her, pinched her, so that the signs of it appeared upon her, and knocked her head against the dresser, which made her nose bleed much. Besides others who were present, this was done before four Indians, who were then in the kitchen. Witnessed by old Mrs. Eaton, and Mrs.

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* See p. 112.

† Mary was the daughter of Gov. Eaton by his first wife. She afterwards was married to Valentine Hill, who in 1658 was of Piscataway, but at an earlier period had been a deacon in the First Church of Boston.

Mary, and Elizabeth Browning, who saith, though she was not in the kitchen when this was done, yet she was above in the chamber, and heard Mrs. Mary cry, and heard the blows up into the chamber, and when she came down she saw Mrs. Mary's nose bleed very much; she asked what was the matter, and they told her Mrs. Eaton had beat Mrs. Mary. This is a breach of the fifth command in breaking the rules of her relation, and so contrary to the rule of the Apostle, Eph. vi, 4; Col. iii, 21. And likewise she hath herein broken the sixth commandment, contrary to Matt. v, 21,—contrary to the rule of the Apostle, Eph. iv, 31. Likewise it is a breach of the sixth commandment, as it is a just offense to the Indians and so a means of the murder of their souls, and so contrary to the rule of the Apostle, 1 Cor. x, 32.

"3. That Mrs. Eaton hath unjustly charged Mrs. Mary, saying," &c. [Mrs. Mary denies the imputation. Mary Launce* confirms the denial.] "Sister Maudline saith that she living in the house about half a year, never saw any light carriage in her that might give any suspicion to ground any such charge; and she took the more notice of her carriage, because old Mrs. Eaton had often asked her about Mrs. Mary's carriage, because she had heard her mother had spoken many suspicious words concerning Mrs. Mary. Brother Lupton saith he never saw any thing in Mrs. Mary but comely and well. Brother Broadly saith for light carriage in Mrs. Mary with any man, he never saw any in the least, nor had cause for any such thought; and Brother Lupton saith the same. Mrs. Eaton being demanded by Mr. Gregson, Mr. Davenport and Mr. Hooke, why she charged Mrs. Mary with such things, she answered that she said it to her to set it more upon her to prevent it, because she observed her temper and carriage, (saying her carriage was wanton.) Being earnestly pressed to give an instance of any of these charges upon her, she then could give none. This charge is confessed in the answer Mrs. Eaton gives. This is a breach of the ninth command, as it is a slander and that of a high nature; and concerning the reason she gives why she laid this charge upon her daughter, it is contrary to Rom. iii, 8.

"4. Mrs. Eaton charged Mrs. Mary to be the cause of the ruin of the souls of many that came into the house, especially of Mary

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* Mary Launce was the second wife of Rev. John Sherman of Watertown. See p. 56. She was still living when Mather published his Magnalia.

Launce, but showed not wherein. Witness, Mrs. Mary, and Mary Launce. This is a sin against the ninth commandment, and contrary to Psal. xv, 3."

The specifications are seventeen in number, and are all of the same kind with the preceding; all showing a violent ungoverned temper, venting itself in the most abusive words towards all in the family, from her husband down to "Anthony the neager,"* and sometimes impelling her to blows.† In these days, doubts would be

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* Who Anthony was, and what was his relation to Gov. Eaton's family, may be learned from the record of "a court the 7th day of December, 1647.

"The Governor acquainted the Court that he heard that Anthony the negro, his servant, got some strong water, and he heard that he was drunk. Therefore because it was openly known, he thought it necessary the matter should be heard in the Court, whereas, had it been kept within the compass of his own family he might have given him family correction for it.

"Anthony saith he did go to Mr. Evance's house for some sugar, and Matthew his negro asked him to drink. He did not refuse it; and Mr. Evance's negro poured somewhat out of a runlet, and gave it him, and went away; and he drank, not knowing what it was. And after he had drunk, he was light in his head after he came abroad.

"Mr. Evance's negro saith, Anthony coming to their house, he asked him to drink, and poured out some strong water which was in the bottom of a runlet into a pint pot and drank to him. It was asked him how many times Anthony drank. He said but once; but as he conceiveth, at once he drank about the quantity of two wine glasses. It was asked him whether he gave it him for beer, or told him what it was; or whether Anthony knew that it was strong water. He said he could not tell.

"The Court considering that it is the first time they have heard any thing of Anthony this way; and possibly he might not know what he drank till afterwards, it being given him in such a vessel as is used to drink beer out of; and hoping it will be a warning to him for time to come, thought it fit and agreed not to inflict any public corporal punishment for this time; but as the Governor's zeal and faithfulness hath appeared (not conniving at sin in his own family,) so they leave it to him to give that correction which he in his wisdom shall judge meet."

If I were a historical painter, I should be tempted to take for a subject, the trial of Anthony the negro.

† The fifteenth particular differs slightly from the others. "When Mr. Davenport was in preaching, and speaking something against Anabaptism, Mrs. Eaton said, as she sat in her seat, 'It is not so.' And when Mr. Davenport said he would be brief, she said, 'I would you would,' or 'I pray be so.' Anna Eaton heard her mother speak this, and told her brother, and he told his mother. Old Mrs. Eaton saith, that Theophilus telling his mother of it, she said it was not so. Anna Eaton saith that her mother did deny that she said so. But Mrs. Eaton since hath acknowledged she did speak to that purpose. This is contrary to Isa. xxx, 8—10."

raised as to the sanity of such an offender. The wife of Gov. Hopkins, who was Mrs. Eaton's daughter by her former husband, was for many years the victim of mental derangement. The paper was concluded with some testimony of a general nature, from "Sister Preston," Mary Launce, Elizabeth Browning, "Brother Lupton," and "Brother Broadly." "Brother Lupton saith that it was usual when he came home, the maids would complain to him of Mrs. Eaton's unquietness with them; and he did speak with Mrs. Eaton, and wish her to live in love and peace. She did lay the fault on her maids, and he spake to them not to provoke their mistress; and they wished him to pray for them that they might not provoke her, Mrs. Mary professing it was the desire of her heart to give her mother content and not willingly provoke her. Brother Broadly saith he never knew any cause given by the maids to provoke Mrs. Eaton, but that they had great provocations from her; for they could do almost nothing to give her content, which did discourage them, and many times made them careless. He further saith he hath observed Mrs. Eaton's way to be very unquiet, unstable and self-willed, and more of late than formerly.

"After that the ruling elder had read these several facts, he propounded to Mrs. Eaton if she had any thing to object against these facts that were charged upon her. She sat down and said nothing. After this was done, it was propounded to the brethren whether the facts that were read and charged upon Mrs. Eaton were not sufficiently proved by those witnesses; and they gave their vote that they were sufficiently proved. Then it was propounded to the brethren, that they having heard the several rules that was charged upon Mrs. Eaton to be broken by her, whether they were rightly applied to the several facts; if they were satisfied therein they should declare it by lifting up their hands, which accordingly they did. After this was done it was again propounded to the brethren that they having heard the several facts charged and proved, and the rules she had broken thereby, they should take it into their consideration whether she was presently to be cast out for these facts, or whether it would admit of an admonition only at this time. Then the brethren freely spake their apprehensions. Then our pastor stood up and spake to the Church and held forth light unto them, shewing that those facts were not of that nature that they called for a present cutting off; but he rather inclined to give a public solemn admonition; for though the charges were many and great, yet [it was to be considered] whether

they could be proved to proceed from a habitual frame of sinning in her, so as that she may not be counted a visible saint. And he also showed that though some sins could not admit of an admonition if they were public scandals, as those in 1 Cor. v, yet whether any of these facts amounted so high was not clear. After our pastor had done speaking, and a little pause, it was propounded to the brethren whether they would have Mrs. Eaton at that time only admonished, and they that were of that mind should declare it by holding up of hands; and the brethren with one consent declared by their vote that at that time they would have her admonished. After the vote was passed, Mrs. Eaton stood up and spake to the Church, desiring that at that time there might be no censure passed upon her. Then our pastor stood up and answered her that seeing the matter was brought into the public, such evils could not pass without the Church's rebuke, the rule being they that sin openly must be rebuked openly, and she must hear the Church. Then our pastor proceeded and passed the sentence of admonition upon her. The form of the admonition was thus, that 'In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and with the consent of this Church, I do charge thee, Mrs. Eaton, to attend unto the several rules that you have broken, and to judge yourself by them, and to hold forth your repentance according to God, as you will answer it at the great day of Jesus Christ.'

"After this admonition, the Church waited, expecting the fruit of it. But they found by clear and credible information, that she did continue offensive in her way, both in her carriage in her family and otherwise. And in this time, whilst her carriage was offensive, she sent a writing to the ruling elder, which when the elders had considered, and found that it neither came up to the acknowledging the particulars for which she was admonished, nor held forth repentance according to God, and that her spirit was wholly under the former distempers, the elders agreed to speak with her, that they might encourage her, and draw her further on to repentance. In all mildness they told her what was defective in this note, and what further would be required [according] to God for the Church's satisfaction, to wit, three things,—1, that she should acknowledge the facts according to the evidence in the particulars, and fall under the rules she had transgressed by those facts as appeared in the admonition,—2, that she should [hold] forth her repentance, confess her sins, and judge herself for them,—3, that because there was a tract and course of

scandalous miscarriages, she should hold forth such reformation as might be testified to the Church's satisfaction according to God by some that ordinarily conversed with her. This advice she seemed to receive thankfully, and to purpose to apply herself thereunto.

"But after about three quarters of a year waiting, no fruit of repentance appeared, so that sundry of the Church showed themselves unsatisfied at these delays. From sundry other Churches also in the Bay and at Connecticut, being made acquainted with the proceedings of the Church in this matter, we saw that the Church was thought to be defective by their slowness to use the last remedy which Christ hath appointed for recovery in this case. Hereupon [the elders] went to her in private, and told her, that though it had been her duty to have sought reconciliation with the Church, whom she had offended, and knew they were yet unsatisfied, yet seeing she neglected, the elders came to her to see what fruit yet might appear of the public, solemn admonition, to the end they might give some account thereof to the Church. She answered, she confessed it was her duty so to have done, but she [was] hindered by not finding in herself repentance to her own satisfaction. Being then pressed to know what hindered her repentance, and told that it must be either something charged upon her in way of fact whereof she was not guilty, or else some rule was not rightly applied to her conviction; if she had any such thing to alledge, they said, 'We are here to inform your judgment.' She answered, she had nothing to say against the admonition. Being then further pressed to speak if any such objection stuck with her, or else they could not see but she hardened herself and slighted the admonition, then she said she was not convinced of the breach of the fifth commandment in the first fact charged, for she did not acknowledge her husband's mother to be her mother. The elders answered, they conceived that was sufficiently cleared before, that she had broken the fifth commandment, and therefore referred to the admonition;—and finding that she continued obstinate, parted from her with these expressions, that we must give an account to the Church of what we found, and did bewail the hardness of her heart, and should mourn for her in secret.

"Between this and the time she was to give her answer to the Church, she sent another writing to the ruling elder, which when the elders read they found it to be far short of holding forth that repentance the rule required, and [far short] of the first writing which yet when she wrote she was under the power of distemper as before.

And so [she] continued to the very time of her coming before the Church.

"Upon the 20th day of the third month, 1645, being the Lord's day, after the contribution, Mrs. Eaton was called before the Church in the public assembly, to see what fruit was of the admonition. The particular facts charged upon her were read unto her. She answered then to some of them; but it growing late, the Church left off for that time, and appointed the fourth day following to issue that matter. The next fourth day, after lecture was ended, Mrs. Eaton was called again. When she gave her answer to the Church, it pleased God to leave her so far to herself to the discovering of her distemper, that though full of tears at other times when she hath a mind to express herself that way, yet at both times when she appeared before the Church she behaved herself without any show of remorse, and expressed herself with an ostentation of empty words, which fell far short of the several charges in the admonition; and added unto the former offenses new offenses and lies in the presence of the assembly as followeth," &c.

"Before the Church proceeded to sentence, the mind of God concerning the censure was so [clear] to the whole Church, that the brethren being desired by the elders to express their apprehensions concerning the case in hand, sundry of the brethren spake weightily to convince her of her obstinacy in her sins, and all and every one of them, with one consent, gave their vote to her casting out,—first, for not hearing the Church in her admonition, according to the rule, Matt. xviii,—secondly, for new offenses she gave, for lying before the Church, according to the rule, Rev. xxii, 15, and 1 Cor. v. And not the brethren only, but some elders of other Churches being present, and being desired by the elders to declare their judgment concerning this case, they did both speak weightily to her, and justify the way of the Church concerning her casting out;—one of them adding that if this case had been in the Churches up the river, it would not have been delayed so long. And thus with much grief of heart, and many tears, the Church proceeded to censure; wherein God showed a wonderful presence to the satisfaction of all that were present."

*Concerning Henry Glover's seeking reconciliation with the Church, for the scandalous evils for which he was cast out, and the Church's receiving of him again, the 11th day of the 6th month, 1644.*

"Henry Glover having acquainted the elders with his desire of being reconciled to the Church, and to hold forth his repentance to the satisfaction of the Church according to God for those scandalous evils for which he was justly cast out, they appointed him a time and heard him what he could say; which they considered of. And they likewise heard from sundry who conversed with him, of his sorrowful and mournful walking, which was commonly taken notice of, as formerly his scandals were. The elders having prepared the matter for the hearing of the Church, appointed him the next Lord's day to speak before the whole Church in the mixed assembly. After the morning exercise was ended, the ruling elder desired the brethren to stay; and after the assembly was departed, he acquainted them with the desire of Henry Glover, and also desired those brethren, that had been most in company with Henry Glover, they should speak what they had observed. Sundry of the brethren then spoke, and gave an encouraging testimony concerning him. The brethren agreed that he should have liberty to speak in the afternoon. After the contribution was ended, the ruling elder declared to the assembly that Henry Glover who stood excommunicated, desired to be reconciled to God and to the Church, and to hold forth his repentance according to God. If the brethren consented that he should now speak, we should take their silence for their consent. After a little pause, the brethren being silent, the ruling elder desired some that stood near the door to call in Henry Glover.* When he came in, the ruling elder spake to him, and told him that he had liberty granted to speak. Then he acknowledged the several facts for which he was cast out, and the rules he had broken; and showed also how many temptations he had been exercised with from Satan since he was cast out; and how God had humbled him for those sins for which he was cast out, and made them bitter to him, and brought him to repentance, and gave him hope of mercy in the preaching of the word; and also expressed his earnest desire of being reconciled to the Church. After he had done speaking, the ruling elder desired the brethren to declare whether he had spoken to their satisfaction; and they declared their apprehensions. Afterwards it was

* See p. 48.

desired of those brethren that lived about him, and had most dealing with him, they should testify how they found the frame of his spirit, and what humiliation and reformation they saw of those evils for which he was cast out; and sundry of the brethren gave a good testimony concerning him. After this it was desired if any other that were not of the Church had anything wherein they were unsatisfied in point of his conversation, they might speak and the Church would consider of it; but none spoke but Goodman Chapman, who spoke something tending to clear him.

"Afterwards it was propounded to the brethren whether they would defer the issuing of this matter till next Lord's day, the business being of so great weight as the loosing a man from his sin and setting him in the fellowship of the Church again. The brethren agreed that it should be deferred till next Lord's day. Henry Glover standing up by a pillar, went hastily down when he saw it was deferred till the next Lord's day, and he let some words fall which had the appearance of discontent because it was not then issued. His carriage in this matter, to the elders and many of the brethren that observed him, had an appearance of passion and pride, as if he thought he had held out that which might have satisfied. It was desired by the elders that he might be called in again. Our pastor stood up and spake to him, and told him that there was a law in the xiiith and xivth Chapt. Levit. concerning the cleansing the leper, that he was to be shut up seven days to see if his leprosy was cleansed. The leper under the law answered the state of an excommunicated person now. And the matter being so weighty, and he having left some suspicion by that carriage of his whether he was perfectly healed or not, made it necessary. [He] told him that the brethren did it out of tenderness to him. So it was respited till the next Lord's day.

"The next Lord's day, Henry Glover was called again, and required to answer some questions that were propounded to him for the more full satisfaction of the Church concerning his repentance, and also concerning his carriage the last Lord's day. After he had answered, it was propounded to the brethren, if they had any other thing to propound to him they should speak. After sundry had spoken to him what they desired, it was propounded to vote in manner following,—that if the brethren were so far satisfied with what they had heard Henry Glover hold forth concerning his repentance, as they were willing he should be loosed from the sentence of excommunication under which he stood bound, and to admit him to

the liberties and privileges of the Church he formerly enjoyed, they should declare it by holding up of hands; which they did. Then it was again propounded to vote, if there was any of the brethren that was otherwise minded, they should declare it by holding up of hands. But there was none held up to the contrary; but all the brethren with one consent agreed to the receiving him again.

"Then our pastor stood up, and charged him, telling him that he was in the presence of Christ who searches the hearts and tries the reins; and though the Church judged as men by such rules as they were to walk by, yet the Lord knew whether that which he held forth was in truth or not. But the brethren were apt to receive anything that they might judge according to rule to be in truth. After he had done speaking he went to prayer, begging a blessing on the ordinance of absolution; and in his prayer went over all the particulars of his sins for which he was censured, and how he was hurried after he was cast out, and how God had brought him to repentance both by his word and by his providences; and he begged of God that he would make it appear his repentance was in truth, and that what was done by the Church might be according to the mind of Christ, and that he would ratify it in heaven. And after prayer [he] pronounced him absolved, thus, 'Henry Glover, I do in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by power delegated from Jesus Christ to his Church, pronounce thee absolved and set free from the sentence of excommunication under which thou hast stood bound, and do restore thee to the liberties and privileges of this Church which thou formerly didst enjoy.'"

I know not where to look for a more copious illustration of the duties performed by the ruling elder in the primitive New England Churches, than is contained in the preceding records. Why was this office so early dropped in the Churches generally? The most cogent reason, doubtless, was the difficulty of finding suitable men to sustain the dignity and perform the work of such an eldership. The fathers of New England carried their distinction between Church and State so far, that no man who held any civil office was allowed to hold at the same time an office in the Church. Thus in 1669, Roger Alling having been inadvertently chosen town treasurer when he stood under a nomination for the office of deacon in the Church, the election was set aside, and another treasurer chosen. And ten years earlier, Matthew Gilbert was not put in nomination for the magistracy, till he had ceased to be deacon. See Savage's Winthrop, I, 31.

## No. IV.

### THE PRIMITIVE MEETING HOUSE IN NEW HAVEN.

THE custom still lingers in some parts of New England, of "seating" the people in the meeting house by a committee. When this custom was given up in New Haven, I have not ascertained. Probably it was continued till about the middle of the last century. In several instances the records of the town exhibit the assignment of persons to seats, with the names of all the individuals. The earliest record of this kind is in the proceedings of "a General Court," or town meeting, "held the 10th of March, 1646." As the record shows both the meeting house and the congregation, I have thought it worth copying.

"The names of people as they were seated in the meeting house were read in court; and it was ordered that they should be recorded which was as followeth, viz:

"*The middle seats have, to sit in them,*

1st seat. The Governor and Deputy Governor.

2d seat. Mr. Malbon, magistrate.

3d seat. Mr. Evance, Mr. Bracey, Mr. Francis Newman, Mr. Gibbard.

4th seat. Goodman Wigglesworth, Bro. Atwater, Bro. Seely, Bro. Myles.

5th seat. Bro. Crane, Bro. Gibbs, Mr. Caffinch, Mr. Ling, Bro. Andrews.

6th seat. Bro. Davis, Goodman Osborne, Anthony Thompson, Mr. Browning, Mr. Rutherford, Mr. Higginson.

7th seat. Bro. Camfield, Mr. James, Bro. Benham, Wm. Thompson, Bro. Lindall, Bro. Martin.

8th seat. Jno. Meggs, Jno. Cooper, Peter Browne, Wm. Peck, Jno. Gregory, Nich. Elsie.

9th seat. Edw. Banister, John Herryman, Benja. Wilmot, Jarvis Boykin, Arthur Holbridge.

"*In the cross seats at the end,*

1st seat. Mr. Pell, Mr. Tuttle, Bro. Fowler.

2d seat. Thom. Nash, Mr. Allerton, Bro. Perry.

3d seat. Jno. Nash, David Atwater, Thom. Yale.

4th seat. Robert Johnson, Thom. Jeffery, John Punderson.

5th seat. Thom. Munson, John Livermore, Roger Allen, Jos. Nash, Sam. Whithead, Thom. James.

In the other little seat, John Clarke, Mark Pierce.

"*In the seats on the side, for men,*

1st, Jeremy Whitnell, Wm. Preston, Thomas Kimberly, Thom. Powell.

2d, Daniel Paul, Rich. Beckly, Richard Mansfield, James Russell.

3d, Wm. Potter, Thom. Lampson, Christopher Todd, William Ives.

4th, Hen. Glover, Wm. Tharpe, Matthias Hitchcock, Andrew Low.

"*On the other side of the door.*

1st, John Mosse, Luke Atkinson, Jno. Thomas, Abraham Bell.

2d, George Smith, John Wackfield, Edw. Pattison, Richard Beech.

3d, John Basset, Timothy Ford, Thom. Knowles, Robert Preston.

4th, Richd. Osborne, Robert Hill, Jno. Wilford, Henry Gibbons.

5th, Francis Browne, Adam Nichols, Goodman Leeke, Goodman Daighton.

6th, Wm. Gibbons, John Vincent, Thomas Wheeler, John Brockett.

"*Secondly, for the women's seats, in the middle.*

1st seat. Old Mrs. Eaton.

2d seat. Mrs. Malbon, Mrs. Grigson, Mrs. Davenport, Mrs. Hooke.

3d seat. Elder Newman's wife, Mrs. Lamberton, Mrs. Turner, Mrs. Brewster.

4th seat. Sister Wakeman, Sister Gibbard, Sister Gilbert, Sister Myles.

5th seat. Mr. Francis Newman's wife, Sister Gibbs, Sister Crane, Sister Tuttil, Sister Atwater.

6th seat. Sister Seely, Mrs. Caffinch, Mrs. Perry, Sister Davis, Sister Cheevers, Jno. Nash's wife.

7th seat. David Atwater's wife, Sister Clarke, Mrs. Yale, Sister Osborne, Sister Thompson.

8th seat. Sister Wigglesworth, Goody Johnson, Goody Camfield, Sister Punderson, Goody Meggs, Sister Gregory.

9th seat. Sister Todd, Sister Boykin, Wm. Potter's wife, Mathias Hitchcock's wife, Sister Cooper.

"*In the cross seats at the end.*

1st, Mrs. Bracey, Mrs. Evance.

2d, Sister Fowler, Sister Ling, Sister Allerton.

3d, Sister Jeffery, Sister Rutherford, Sister Livermore.

4th, Sister Preston, Sister Benham, Sister Mansfield.

5th, Sister Allen, Goody Banister, Sister Kimberly, Goody Wilmott, Mrs. Higginson.

In the little cross seat, Sister Potter the midwife, and old Sister Nash.

" *In the seats on the sides.*

1st seat. Sister Powell, Goody Lindall, Mrs. James.

2d seat. Sister Whithead, Sister Munson, Sister Beckly, Sister Martin.

3d seat. Sister Peck, Joseph Nash's wife, Peter Browne's wife, Sister Russell.

4th seat. Sister Ives, Sister Bassett, Sister Pattison, Sister Elsie.

" *In the seats on the other side of the door.*

1st seat. Jno. Thomas's wife, Goody Knowles, Goody Beech, Goody Hull.

2d seat. Sister Wackfield, Sister Smith, Goody Mosse, James Clarke's wife.

3d seat. Sister Brockett, Sister Hill, Sister Clarke, Goody Ford.

4th seat. Goody Osborne, Goody Wheeler, Sister Nichols, Sister Browne."

From the fact that in the foregoing schedule, no seat is assigned to Ezekiel Cheevers, and from some occasional mention of "the scholars' seats" in other parts of the records, it may be inferred that the pupils of the school were seated together, perhaps in the gallery, under the care of their instructor. Servants also, and young people generally, seem to have no place in the schedule.*

* The reader will notice that in this assignment of seats no mention is made of "Mrs. Eaton the Governor's wife;" which seems to agree with what Lechford says as cited on p. 48. Another assignment of seats was made in 1655; and then, as the committee come to "the women's seats," they begin thus, "*The long seats.* The first as it was," giving no name. Yet in the same document, that is afterwards spoken of as "Mrs. Eaton's seat." If there had been such a rule as Lechford describes, they seem to have begun to get around it as early as 1655. At the second seating, the house seems to have been more crowded than at the first; probably because many who in 1646 were servants, had in 1655 become householders, and under the equalizing influence of free institutions, were approaching the same level with their former masters.

## No. V.

### NOTICES OF SOME OF THE PLANTERS OF NEW HAVEN.

STEPHEN GOODYEAR, who from the organization of the civil government of New Haven till his death, stood almost uniformly in the office of deputy governor, appears to have been one of the merchants who followed Mr. Davenport from London to this country, and whose commercial habits and tastes determined the location of the colony and the plan of the town. His wife was one of the company who were lost at sea in 1646. (Winthrop, II, 176.) He afterwards married Mrs. Lamberton, the widow of the master of that unfortunate bark. Among other specimens of his activity and public spirit, we find him in 1655 forward in proposing and getting up "the iron works" at East Haven, which he thought "would be a great advantage to the town." He died in London, in the year 1658. He was obviously considered by the colonists, as second only to Eaton in qualifications for the service of their commonwealth. Trum. I, 233.

THOMAS GREGSON, (or GRIGSON,) was a man of less wealth than many of his associates in the colony; yet while he lived he was continually entrusted with important offices. He was always one of the "magistrates," who with the governor and deputy governor, were at once the superior branch of the legislature, and the supreme judiciary. He was sent with Gov. Eaton, in 1643, to meet commissioners from the other colonies, for the purpose of forming that New England confederacy, in which, with its annual congress, the philosophic reader of history sees the first manifestation of the tendency which has resulted in our great federal government. In only one instance while he lived, was any other person associated with Eaton in the responsibility of representing New Haven colony in that congress. Of his activity as a member of the Church, some indication appears in the extracts from early Church records in No. III, of this Appendix. He was one of those lost at sea in 1646, he being then commissioned by the colony to apply to parliament for a charter. His only son afterwards settled in London. One of his daughters married the Rev. John Whiting of Hartford. Dodd, East Haven Register, 125.

His name has had some accidental celebrity, by its being the theme of one of the stupendous falsehoods of Peters. See Kingsley's Discourse, 87—90.

The two most remarkable military men of the New England colonies, Standish of Plymouth, and Mason of Connecticut, had acquired military skill and experience in the wars of the Netherlands. The same is true of Underhill, first of Boston, afterwards of Piscataqua, afterwards for a season of Stamford, in the New Haven jurisdiction, and afterwards a subject of the Dutch government in the New Netherlands, whose wife was a Dutch woman, and who was himself one of the most dramatic characters in our early history. The same may be presumed of "Captaine NATHANIEL TURNER," who at a General Court on the 1st of the 7th month, 1640, was formally "chosen" "to have the command of all martiall affairs of this plantation." Like Underhill, he had acquired his military title before coming to this country. He was made a freeman of Massachusetts in October, 1630. His name next appears in the first roll of representatives in Massachusetts, (A. D. 1634,) he having been deputed from Sagus, where he was one of the most considerable planters. Winthrop, I, 129. Next we find him (ibid. 192,) one of the captains in the expedition of 1636, from Massachusetts against the Pequots. In January, 1637, his house at Sagus was burnt down, "with all that was in it save the persons." (ibid. 213.) The editor of Winthrop (II, 276,) speaks of him, (I know not on what authority,) as having been in Stoughton's expedition in 1637; though the burning of his house in January might naturally have excused him from such a service in June. In 1638, he accompanied the adventurers who were to form the new colony at Quinnipiack. In this colony he was one of the most valued men. He not only had "the command of all martial affairs," but was continually entrusted with important civil offices. He was one of the committee of six appointed in 1639, to "have the disposing of all the house lots about this towne," and without whose "consent and allowance" none should come to dwell as planters. He was the agent of New Haven for the purchase of land on the Delaware Bay, and the beginning of a plantation there. In 1643, at the first complete organization of a legislature for the whole jurisdiction, he was one of the deputies from New Haven. He too was lost in the fatal ship. His wife afterwards married a Dutch merchant, Samuel Goodenhouse, (or Van Goodenhousen,) who was for many

years settled in New Haven. Was this alliance because Capt. Turner's wife, like Capt. Underhill's, was a Dutch woman? The descendants of Capt. Turner, bearing his name, reside, I believe, in North Haven. Thomas Mix, the common ancestor of all who bear that name, and the great grandfather of the late Judge Stephen Mix Mitchell, married Rebecca, the daughter of Capt. Turner.

Lieut. Robert Seely, (or Ceely,) is named by Lyon Gardner in his "Relation of the Pequot wars," (III, Mass. Hist. Coll. III, 153,) "as one of the right New England worthies," who with Maj. Mason and Capt. Underhill, "undertook the desperate way and design to Mistick Fort." He was made a freeman of Massachusetts in October, 1630, and was of Watertown in 1631. (Farmer.) Having removed with other Watertown people to Connecticut, probably to Wethersfield, he was Capt. Mason's lieutenant in the celebrated expedition which annihilated the Pequots. (III, Mass. Hist. Coll. III, 143.) At the organization of the government of New Haven, he was chosen marshall, which office he retained till he was succeeded by "Brother Thomas Kimberly." In 1642, he was formally chosen lieutenant of the train band, and after that election he was, as before, frequently employed about the martial affairs. In October, 1646, he "had liberty of the court to depart for England, though a public officer." He seems however either to have deferred his voyage, or to have been absent only a few months, for in February, 1648, he was still here. From June, 1651, he seems to have been absent for a long time. In 1662, he had "returned from England;" and at a town meeting, "a motion was made in his behalf for some encouragement for his settling among us," which does not appear to have resulted in any thing effectual. Probably he settled either on Long Island or in Fairfield county. A Capt. Seely of Stratford, fell in "the great swamp fight" with the Narragansetts, in 1675.

William Gibbard was for many years Treasurer of the town and of the colony; and from 1658, till just before the union with Connecticut, Secretary. While the records, full, minute and accurate, shall remain, his works, notwithstanding his complaint "that his hand was much too slow for the court," will not cease to praise him. Of his modesty, one specimen may be given, which sets in a striking light the difference between ancient and modern times. In April, 1661, he was nominated at a town meeting, to be propounded at the

court of election, for a magistrate; whereupon he "declared that he was satisfied in himself that he was not called of God to that place, both in regard of some inward unfitness which he finds in himself, and in regard of some circumstances respecting his outward condition which would not admit of it." His fellow citizens thought more highly of him than he thought of himself, and insisted on their nomination. They told him "that what was done had not been done rashly; they therefore saw not ground to alter from it, nor must they make any such precedent, which would be of such ill consequence." Being thus promoted against his will, the office of Secretary passed from his hands into those of James Bishop.

In 1656, his barn was set on fire by the malice of an indented servant boy, and both barn and house were consumed. Two years afterwards, "Mr. Gibbard acquainted the town that a friend of his in England hath sent a parcel of books to the town in the way of thankfulness for the kindness that the said Mr. Gibbard had received from them since his house was burned; and he now desired to know how the town would have them disposed of. It was declared that seeing they are most of them Latin school books, they leave it to him, the schoolmaster, and such others as they shall take in to advise with for the disposing of them." He died in 1663.

John Nash deserves to be commemorated here for an instance of modesty parallel to that exhibited by Secretary Gibbard. He had long been a man of some military standing, as ensign, and as lieutenant. In 1660, "it being recommended by the General Court to the several plantations, that as they are furnished with able men, a captain might be chosen for the military service, Lieutenant Nash was nominated as a man fit for that place; whereupon he declared that he hoped the rules of God in Scripture would be considered and attended in this matter, whereby it appears that such as were chosen were men of courage and valor, chief men, men of estates, such as rendered the place to be a place of respect. He said he was satisfied in himself that he was not meetly qualified for that place, and desired that they would not choose a man to expose themselves and him to derision. The Governor told the town, (they having heard Lieut. Nash's answer,) they might propound some other. But the freemen and others still showing their inclination to him, he said that he could not see it to be the will of God for him to accept though they should choose; which if they did he thought would put him upon a

temptation to refuse, or else to think of removing, which he desired they would not put him to, but that it might be forborne. Which being put to vote, it was yet determined to proceed to a present choice. But Lieutenant Nash earnestly pressing them to forbear, appealing to God who knew the uprightness of his heart in what he had said, it was respited till another time. Whereupon Lieutenant Nash thanked the town for sparing him at this time, and said, if God shall persuade his heart of his call to this work, he shall be willing to do the town service." Ultimately, I believe, but not till more than a year afterwards, the Lieutenant became convinced of the genuineness of his call to be Captain. In 1672, he was chosen one of the Assistants of Connecticut. (Trumbull, I, 322.) See p. 160.

Matthew Gilbert, who was one of the "seven pillars," and who in connection with Robert Newman, was chosen one of the first deacons of the Church, appears to have resigned the deacon's office in 1658, if not earlier, for in that year he was chosen one of the Magistrates, and about the same time, the ordination of Brother Peck and Brother Miles to the deacon's office, was entered in the Church Records. In 1661, after the death of Gov. Newman, Mr. Gilbert was chosen deputy governor. Three years afterwards, he was superseded in that office by Gov. Jones, and was again elected Magistrate. This was the last year of the independent jurisdiction of New Haven Colony. He died in 1680; and it is probably his grave, with the initials M. G., which is pointed out as the grave of Goffe the Regicide.

Robert Newman, first deacon, and afterwards ruling elder, is mentioned with some particulars on p. 20. Francis Newman, to whose minute accuracy as Secretary, afterwards imitated by Gibbard and Bishop, we are indebted for almost all our knowledge of the early times of New Haven, is commemorated on pages 114, 115. Robert Newman appears to have returned to London after 1651, and sometime before 1657. See p. 157.

The reader will naturally inquire after the "seven pillars." Of the first four, Eaton, Davenport, Newman, and Gilbert, he is already sufficiently informed. The remaining three were less distinguished.

Thomas Fugill was the first Secretary, with the title of "public notary." The records made by him are a wonder for the beauty of

the penmanship; but they are far less satisfactory than those made by his successors, particularly after Francis Newman came into that office. In the year 1645, he fell under censure for having made an incorrect record for his own advantage. He was very sternly dealt with, turned out of his office, and excommunicated from the Church. Soon afterwards he returned, it is believed, to London.

Of JOHN PUNDERSON, little appears upon the records. His descendants have been numerous and respectable. His son John, and his grandson John, were deacons of the Church of which he was one of the founders. He died February 11, 1680.

JEREMIAH DIXON, (in the records his name is written *Jeremy*,) left New Haven at an early period; and I have as yet been unable to trace him. It does not appear that he returned to England; yet his removal was probably to a distance.

In selecting the seven pillars it seems to have been intended to have all orders and ranks in the community fairly represented. Fugill and Punderson were men of small estates. Dixon was an unmarried man.

Master EZEKIEL CHEEVER, (or CHEEVERS,) was the father of New England schoolmasters. He died in August, 1708, having probably outlived all who with him were the founders of the New Haven Church. His funeral sermon was preached by Cotton Mather, and published with a "Historical Introduction," and a poetical "Essay" on his memory. Some extracts from the work are given in II, Mass. Hist. Coll. VII, 130, as supplementary to a brief account of Cheever gathered out of the town records, by the late Col. Lyon.

Mather says, in his "Historical Introduction," "He was born in London many years before the birth of New England. *It was* January 25th, 1614 (i. e. 16$\frac{1}{4}$.) He arrived in this country in June, 1637, with the rest of those good men, who sought a peaceable secession in an American wilderness, for the pure evangelical and instituted worship of our great Redeemer, to which he kept a strict adherence all his days. He then sojourned first, a little while, part of a year, at Boston; so that at Boston he both commenced and concluded his American race. His holy life was a married life. He died in Boston, August 21st, 1708, in the ninety-fourth year of his age; after he had been a skilful, painful, faithful schoolmaster for seventy years; and had the singular favor of Heaven, that though he had usefully spent his life among *children*, yet he had not become *twice* a

*child*, but held his abilities, with his usefulness, in an unusual degree, to the very last."

In the Sermon, Dr. Mather says, "It was noted, that when scholars came to be admitted into the *College*, they who came from the *Cheeverian education*, were generally the most unexceptionable. He flourished so long in the great work of bringing our sons to be men, that it gave him an opportunity to send forth many *Bezaleels* and *Aholiabs* for the service of the tabernacle, and men fitted for all good employments. He that was my master seven and thirty years ago, was a master to many of my betters no less than seventy years ago; so long ago, that I must even mention *my father's tutor* for one of them."

Particular notice is taken of "his piety, and his care to infuse documents of piety into the scholars under his charge, that he might carry them with him to the heavenly world. He so constantly prayed with us every day, and catechized us every week, and let fall such holy counsels upon us; he took so many occasions to make speeches to us, that should make us afraid of sin, and of incurring the fearful judgments of God by sin,—that I do propose him for imitation."

Having shown what his "master was *in* the school," he adds, "Out of the school, he was one, *antiquâ fide, priscis moribus;* a Christian of the old fashion; an OLD NEW ENGLAND CHRISTIAN; and I may tell you, that was as venerable a sight as the world, since the days of primitive Christianity, has ever looked upon. He was well studied in the body of divinity; an able defender of the faith and order of the gospel; notably conversant and acquainted with the scriptural prophecies.

"He lived as a *master* the term which has been, for above three thousand years, assigned for the life of man; he continued to the *ninety-fourth* year of his age,—his intellectual force as little abated as his natural."

Col. Lyon says, in his brief Note on Ezekiel Cheever, "I am ignorant whether he came from England with Governor Eaton, in 1637, or joined him at Boston; but he came to New Haven with him. His name appears in the Plantation Covenant, signed in Newman's barn, June 4, 1639. Although a poor man, he must have been of considerable estimation, as he signed among their principal men. Every thing was done with much formality at that time. By their doomsday-book, I find his family consisted of himself and wife only. She died in 1649. His estate was set at £20, and a few acres of

wild land beside. He taught school, and sometimes conducted public worship. It is probable that he wrote his ACCIDENCE at New Haven. In 1644, his salary was raised to £30 per annum; for three years before, he had received but £20 per annum.

"I suppose he left this town about the year 1650, (his name does not appear on the records after that,) and spent the remainder of his long life in the Bay State. In Cambridge catalogue, I see that *Thomas Cheever* was graduated in 1677; perhaps a son of Ezekiel, by a second wife."

What Col. Lyon calls the "doomsday-book" of the New Haven planters may be seen in Barber's Hist. and Antiq. of New Haven, p. 38. Ezekiel Cheever's family, instead of being set down there as "consisting of himself and his wife only," included *three* persons as early as the uncertain date of that document, probably 1638. If Col. Lyon had consulted the baptismal record, he would have seen that Ezekiel had a numerous family without a "second wife." The second baptism in the record, is that of "Samuel Cheevers, the son of Ezekiel Cheevers," "the 17th of the 9th month," 1639. Mary his daughter was baptized 29th of Nov. 1640. His son Ezekiel was baptized the 12th of June, 1642. Another daughter, Elizabeth, was baptized the 6th of April, 1645. "Sarah Cheever," probably another daughter of his, was baptized 21st September, 1646. "Hannah Cheever," 25th of June, 1648.

Pres. Stiles in his Literary Diary, 25th April, 1772, mentions seeing "the Rev. and aged Mr. Samuel Maxwell of Warren," R. I., and adds, "He told me he well knew the famous Grammar schoolmaster, Mr. Ezekier Cheever of Boston, author of the Accidence; that he wore a long, white beard, terminating in a point; that when he stroked his beard to the point, it was a sign to the boys to stand clear." "In Mr. Maxwell, I have seen a man who had been acquainted with one of the original and first settlers of New England. Now a rarity!"

Afterwards, in 1774, July 14th, Dr. Stiles mentions reading Dr. Mather's sermon on the death of Cheever; and having noted down several dates from the sermon, he adds, "He was a pious and learned divine as well as preceptor. He wore his beard to the day of his death. He very much formed and established the New England pronunciation of Latin and Greek. He printed an English Accidence, still in use. The hair of his head and beard were white as snow. 'He died, leaning like old Jacob upon a staff; the sacrifice

and the righteousness of a glorious Christ, he let us know, was the staff which he leaned upon.' I have seen those who knew the venerable saint, particularly Rev. John Barnard of Marblehead, who was fitted for college by Mr. Cheever, and entered 1698. It is said that if he stroked his beard upon his boys doing ill, it was a certain sign of severity."

Besides his Accidence, Cheever published a book on the millennium. Allen, Biog. Dict.

The following petition, copied from the Hutchinson papers in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, is published in "Prize Book, No. IV, of the Public Latin School in Boston," 1823.

"*To his Excellency, Sir Edmund Andross, Knight, Governor and Captain General of his Majesty's territories and dominions in New England.*

"The humble petition of Ezekiel Cheever of Boston, schoolmaster, sheweth that your poor petitioner hath near fifty years been employed in the work and office of a public Grammar-schoolmaster in several places in this country. With what acceptance and success, I submit to the judgment of those that are able to testify. Now seeing God is pleased mercifully yet to continue my wonted abilities of mind, health of body, vivacity of spirit, delight in my work, which alone I am any way fit for and capable of, and whereby I have my outward subsistence,—I most humbly entreat your Excellency, that according to your former kindness so often manifested, I may by your Excellency's favor, allowance and encouragement, still be continued in my present place. And whereas there is due to me about fifty-five pounds for my labors past, and the former way of that part of my maintenance is thought good to be altered,—I with all submission beseech your Excellency, that you would be pleased to give order for my due satisfaction, the want of which would fall heavy upon me in my old age, and my children also, who are otherwise poor enough. And your poor petitioner shall ever pray, &c.

"Your Excellency's most humble servant,

"EZEKIEL CHEEVER."

At New Haven, Ezekiel Cheever was not so confined to his duties in the school as to be excluded from other honorable employments. In October, 1646, he was one of the deputies from New Haven to the General Court for the jurisdiction. He was also a

preacher; for I find that in May, 1647, among other "gross miscarriages" charged upon one "Richard Smoolt, servant to Mrs. Turner," for the aggregate of which he was "severely whipped,"—was his "scoffing at the word of God which was preached by Mr. Cheevers."

I have not seen Mather's sermon on the death of Mr. Cheever. Of the two specimens that follow from the poetical "Essay," I find the first in Allen, and the last in the notice published among the Historical Collections.

"A mighty tribe of well instructed youth
Tell what they owe to him, and tell with truth.
All the eight parts of speech, he taught to them,
They now employ to trumpet his esteem.
*Magister* pleas'd them well because 'twas he;
They say that *bonus* did with it agree.
While they said *amo*, they the hint improve
Him for to make the *object* of their love.
No *concord* so inviolate they knew
As to pay honors to their master due.
With interjections they break off at last,
But *ah* is all they use, *wo*, and *alas!*"

* * * * *

"He *lived* and to vast age no illness knew;
Till Time's scythe, waiting for him, rusty grew.
He *lived* and *wrought;* his labors were immense;
But ne'er declined to *preterperfect* tense."

## No. VI.

### JOHN WINTHROP, OF CONNECTICUT.

I ASK pardon, not of the reader, but of the author, for transferring to these pages Mr. Bancroft's admirable picture of the younger Winthrop.

"In the younger Winthrop, the qualities of human excellence were mingled in such happy proportions, that, while he always wore an air of contentment, no enterprise in which he engaged seemed too lofty for his powers. Even as a child, he had been the pride of his father's house; he had received the best instruction which Cambridge and Dublin could afford; and had perfected his education by visiting, in part at least, in the public service, not Holland and France only, in the days of Prince Maurice and Richelieu, but Venice and Constantinople. From boyhood his manners had been spotless; and the purity of his soul added luster and beauty to the gifts of nature and industry; as he traveled through Europe, he sought the society of men eminent for learning. Returning to England in the bloom of life, with every promise of preferment which genius, gentleness of temper, and influence at court, could inspire, he preferred to follow his father to the new world; regarding 'diversities of countries but as so many inns,' alike conducting to 'the journey's end.' When his father, the father of Massachusetts, became impoverished by his expenses in planting the colony, the pious son, unsolicited and without recompense, relinquished his large inheritance, that 'it might be spent in furthering the great work' in Massachusetts; himself, single-handed and without wealth, engaging in the enterprise of planting Connecticut. Care for posterity seemed the motive to his actions. His vast and elevated mind had, moreover, that largeness, that he respected learning, and virtue, and genius, in whatever sect they might be found. No narrow bigotry limited his affections or his esteem; and when Quakers had become the objects of persecution, he was earnest and unremitting in argument and entreaty, to prevent the effusion of blood. Master over his own mind, he never regretted the brilliant prospects he had resigned, nor complained of the comparative solitude of New London; a large library furnished employment to his mind; the study of nature, according to the principles of the philosophy of Bacon, was his delight; for 'he had a gift in understanding and art;' and his home was endeared

by a happy marriage, and 'many sweet children.' His knowledge of human nature was as remarkable as his virtues. He never attempted impracticable things; but, understanding the springs of action, and the principles that control affairs, he calmly and noiselessly succeeded in all that he undertook. The new world was full of his praises; Puritans, and Quakers, and the freemen of Rhode Island, were alike his eulogists; the Dutch at New York, not less than all New England, had confidence in his integrity; Clarendon and Milton, Newton and Robert Boyle, became his correspondents. If he had faults, they are forgotten. In history he appears, by unanimous testimony, from early life, without a blemish; and it is the beautiful testimony of his own father, that 'God gave him favor in the eyes of all with whom he had to do.' In his interview with Charles II., there is reason to believe, he was able to inspire that naturally benevolent monarch with curiosity; perhaps he amused him with accounts of Indian warfare, and descriptions of the marvels of a virgin world. A favorable recollection of Charles I., who had been a friend to his father's father, and who gave to his family an hereditary claim on the Stuarts, was effectually revived. His personal merits, sympathy for his family, his exertions, the petition of the colony, and, as I believe, the real good will of Clarendon,—for we must not reject all faith in generous feeling,—easily prevailed to obtain for Connecticut an ample patent. The courtiers of King Charles, who themselves had an eye to possessions in America, suggested no limitations; and perhaps it was believed, that Connecticut would serve to balance the power of Massachusetts.

"The charter, disregarding the hesitancy of New Haven, the rights of the colony of New Belgium, and the claims of Spain on the Pacific, connected New Haven with Hartford in one *colony*, of which the limits were extended from the Narragansett River to the Pacific Ocean. How strange is the connection of events! Winthrop not only secured to his state a peaceful century of colonial existence, but prepared the claim for western lands. Under his wise direction, the careless benevolence of Charles II. provided in advance the school fund of Connecticut.

"With regard to powers of government, the charter was still more extraordinary. It conferred on the colonists unqualified power to govern themselves. They were allowed to elect all their own officers, to enact their own laws, to administer justice without appeals to England, to inflict punishments, to confer pardons, and in a word, to exercise every power, deliberative and active. The king, far

from reserving a negative on the acts of the colony, did not even require that the laws should be transmitted for his inspection; and no provision was made for the interference of the English government in any event whatever. Connecticut was independent except in name. Charles II. and Clarendon thought they had created a close corporation, and they had really sanctioned a democracy. To the younger Winthrop, probably because he had preserved a loyal spirit in Connecticut, Charles II. had written, 'the world shall take notice of the sense I have of your kindness, and how great an instrument you have been in promoting the happiness of your country;' and the disinterested man asked favors only for the community of which he was a member.

"After his successful negotiations, and efficient concert in founding the Royal Society, Winthrop returned to America, bringing with him a name which England honored, and which his country should never forget, and resumed his tranquil life in rural retirement. The amalgamation of the two colonies could not be effected without collision; and New Haven had been unwilling to merge itself in the larger colony; the wise moderation of Winthrop was able to reconcile the jarrings, and blend the interests of the united colonies. The universal approbation of Connecticut followed him throughout all the remainder of his life; for twice seven years he continued to be annually elected to the office of her chief magistrate."

Governor Winthrop's first and principal residence in Connecticut, was at Pequot, afterwards called New London. Great efforts were made by Mr. Davenport and Gov. Eaton, to induce him to fix his residence in New Haven. In October, 1654, the General Court of the colony requested the Governor to write to Mr. Winthrop in the name of the Court, "inviting him to come and live at New Haven if he do remove from Pequot." For a year or more, soon afterwards, he resided here, in the house which had been Capt. Malbon's, on the west side of State street, near where it is now intersected by Court street. The town bought that house for his accommodation, offering it to him as a gratuity. He refused to come under any such obligation as would be imposed by his acceptance of such a gift. Accordingly he bought of the town the house and lot, "with all the accommodations belonging thereto,"* for £100, to be paid according to the tenor of the following engagement.

* As illustrating the value of real estate in New Haven at that time, it is worth while to observe how much was sold for £100. The house was one of the best in the town, distinguished as it was for "fair and stately houses."

"These are to testify that I do owe and am indebted to the townsmen of New Haven, selected by the said town for the carrying on the prudential affairs of the same, the full sum of one hundred pounds for the house wherein I now live with the lands to it, to be paid in goats, the one half at any time between this or October next, upon Fisher's Island, whensoever they shall send a vessel to demand and carry away the same, and the other half the next summer at the same place, when they shall likewise send a vessel to demand and fetch them away, any time before that winter, to be delivered by my servants there. Witness my hand: July 7th, 1657.

"JOHN WINTHROP.

"Witness, FRANCIS NEWMAN."

Mr. Winthrop appears not have resided here longer than two years. The house was bought back by the town in 1659; and the use of it was given to Gov. Newman for his lifetime, and that of his wife if she should survive him.

One reason for the great zeal of the town to induce Mr. Winthrop to reside here, was his medical knowledge and skill. See Prof. Knight's Introductory Lecture; which contains the history of the medical profession in New Haven.*

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The lot extended in front about fourteen rods, as measured on Col. Lyon's map, and in depth half way to Church street. Beside the house and lot, there was the housing upon it," (which must have included stable, &c.,) and "all the accommodations belonging thereunto, which in the book where men's accommodations are entered, appear to be thirty five acres of the first division within the two miles, and six and twenty rods; thirty four acres of meadow, and a half; one hundred and seventy eight acres of the second division; and twenty acres and a quarter, sixteen rods, in the Neck."

* Mr. Thomas Pell, who in Dr. Knight's Lecture is mentioned as probably a physician, and as going away in 1650, was surgeon to the Saybrook Fort, under Lyon Gardner, in 1636, and was sent in that capacity with Capt. Underhill to the Pequot war in 1637. (III, Mass. Hist. Coll. III, 149.) His first appearance on the New Haven records is in Sept. 1642; but it is doubtful whether he was at that time residing here. His name is not among the freemen or the planters, or among those who took the oath of fidelity to the jurisdiction. In 1647, he appears again, and soon after married the widow of Francis Brewster, a lady who was rather an untoward subject of the jurisdiction. After considerable difficulty about the payment of a fine which had been imposed upon his wife before the marriage, and for which the court held him responsible after the marriage, he was called upon to take the oath of fidelity, which he refused to do. His going away was a few months afterwards. He seems to have removed from this place to Fairfield. His wife and her daughters were witnesses in the case of Staplies against Ludlow. See Kingsley, 101.

## No. VII.

### EDWARD TENCH'S WILL AND INVENTORY.

THE records in the Probate office begin in the year 1647. But in the town clerk's office I find a solitary record of a will and inventory, dated—before New Haven had an English name—in Feb. 1639–40. The manner and provisions of the will, as well as its being probably the first will ever written in New Haven, make it worth publishing. I subjoin to the will, the first part of the inventory, which exhibits the titles of all the books which made up the library of one of the planters of New Haven.

The record is somewhat mutilated by time. The reader will see that the hiatus is filled up with such words as seem to be demanded by the context.

"I, Edward Tench, planter in Quinnypiocke, being at present weak in body, but of perfect memory, and having my dear wife, Sarah Tench, lying in the house with me, dangerously sick, and near to death by a consumption, so that in the judgment of man, she draweth near her change; do make and ordain this my last will and testament, in manner and form following. First, I commit my spirit, &c.—and my body to be buried in a comely and decent manner, according to the course of this place;—and my debts first paid, funeral expenses discharged, and certain small legacies, part of which are given by my wife, and by me now confirmed, and part by myself now added, all contained in a note and schedule hereunto annexed, I give and bequeath to my forenamed dear wife, the one half of the remainder of my whole estate, whether it be here or in old England, if God please to recover her and preserve her life. The other half of my estate, I give and bequeath to my only son, Nathaniel Tench, now about five years of age, desiring my said wife, to whom I commit him, if God spares her life, to be careful in his education, and to improve his portion for him, till he attain the full age of one and twenty years. But if it shall please God, by death, to take away my dear wife before me, it is my will and mind, and I freely give and bequeath to my forenamed son, Nathaniel Tench, my whole estate; my debts and former legacies being first paid, and funerals discharged; and of this my last Will and Testa-

ment, I make my said son, Nathaniel Tench, the [executor. And] in case my said wife should die before [me, I do entrust and commit] my son, both for his education, and for the ordering and improving his portion and estate, till he attain and accomplish the full age of one and twenty years, to the wisdom and care of the Church of Christ, gathered and settled at Quinnypiocke, whereunto Mr. Davenport is pastor; upon whose love and faithfulness, in accepting and managing this my desire, I quietly rest, with assurance and satisfaction to my spirit. So that if my wife should die, and her sister come over into these parts, and should desire to take my son back into old England, yet my express will and mind is, that he return not, but continue with and be brought up by the forenamed Church of Christ. And lastly, if it please God by death to take my son out of this world before he has attained the full age of one and twenty years; then my will is, and I do hereby give and bequeath the one half of my estate to the treasury of the Church, to whose care I have entrusted my son, to be by them disposed of as they shall see good. And the other half of my estate, I hereby give and bequeath to my brother Francis Tench, and to his children. And I hereby revoke all former wills, testaments and devises by me heretofore made. And do order, declare, and appoint that this and no other, nor otherwise, shall be, and remain in force, as my last will and testament.

"In witness whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my name, this 13th day of February, 1639 [1640.] EDWARD TENCH.

"In the presence of us, *Henry Browning*, *Wm. James*, *Thos. Fugill*."

"The inventory of all the goods and chattels of Edward Tench deceased, late planter of Quinnypiocke, taken by Thom. Gregson, Robert Newman, and Matthew Gilbert, the 19th Feb. 1639.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2 Books of Martyrs, - - - - - | 3 | 00 | 00 |
| Calvin on Job, - - - - - - | | 6 | 00 |
| 1 Concordance, - - - - - - | | 15 | 00 |
| The Country Justice, - - - - - | | 3 | 00 |
| Dodd on the Commandments, - - - | | 3 | 00 |
| 1 Book of Greenham's Works, - - - | | 10 | 00 |
| 1 Geneva Bible with Notes, - - - - | | 10 | 00 |
| 1 Bible, Roman letter, - - - - | | 15 | 00 |

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3 small Bibles, | | 18 | 00 |
| Perkins on the Galatians, | | 3 | 00 |
| Symons on the deserted soul, | | 2 | 6 |
| Perkins' Principles, | | 5 | 00 |
| Bell on Faith, | | 4 | 00 |
| Burrough Book, | | 1 | 6 |
| The Expert Midwife, | | 1 | 6 |
| Markham's Husbandry, | | 3 | 00 |
| Byfield's Marrow of the Oracles, | | 2 | 00 |
| Perkins' How to live well, | | 2 | 00 |
| 1 old book, Dodd on the Commandments, | | 1 | 00 |
| The plain man's pathway to Heaven, | | 1 | 00 |
| Government of cattle, | | 2 | 00 |
| Watcher's Remembrance, | | 1 | 00 |
| The Saints' Cordials, | | | 6 |
| Sibbs' Canticles, | | 4 | 6 |
| On Hosea,. | | 4 | 6 |
| Light from Heaven, | | 4 | 8 |
| 5 books of Dr. Sibbs, | | 3 | 6 |
| Excellency of the Gospel, | | 2 | 00 |
| Promises, | | 1 | 6 |
| Comforts, | | 1 | 3 |
| Christ's Exaltation, | | 1 | 00 |
| Hidden Secrets, | | 1 | 00 |
| Dr. Preston's new covenant, | | 6 | 6 |
| " second volume, | | 6 | 6 |
| " third volume, | | 6 | 6 |
| The Soul's Conflict, | | 3 | 00 |
| Mr. Culverwell's Treatise of Faith, | | 2 | 00 |
| Attributes, | | 3 | 6 |
| Goodwin's Works, | | 5 | 00 |
| Dyke on the Sacraments, | | 3 | 00 |
| Saints' Legacies, | | 1 | 00 |
| Mark's Salutations, | | 1 | 00 |
| Sibbs' Philippians, | | 4 | 00 |
| Delights with Closets, | | 1 | 00 |
| Mr. Caples' book, | | 1 | 2 |
| Charitable Physician, | | 1 | 00 |
| 1 small Bible, | | 5 | 00" |

The entire inventory amounted to £409 3s. 6d.

## No. VIII.

### TREATMENT OF THE INDIANS.

THERE are two sorts of people who habitually represent the New England fathers as having treated the Indians with great injustice.

First, we have the sentimentalists, to whom the Indian is an object of poetic interest. They feel that the wigwam by a waterfall was a far more romantic sight than a five story cotton mill on the same spot. They would rather see upon the Connecticut a rude canoe dug out of a log, by painful blows of a stone hatchet, than the most majestic steamboat. And to their mind's eye a "feather-cinctured chief," like Sassacus, is a much more imposing figure than Roger Sherman or Oliver Ellsworth. The melancholy fate of the wild tribes, disappearing with the forests they once inhabited, and leaving the graves of their fathers to be turned up by the white man's ploughshare, affects these sentimental readers or makers of poetry so deeply, that they cannot but take it for granted that the poor Indian was the victim of Puritan oppression.

Secondly, we have those who think to silence all remonstrance and argument against some recent proceedings in respect to the Indians, by asking, Where are the Indians of New England; and who have a political interest to maintain by making themselves and others believe that there is no precedent, and therefore no warrant for justice in dealing with the native proprietors of the soil.

I am very far from intimating that there were no particular instances of wrong on the part of white men in New England towards the aboriginal inhabitants; or that the colonial governments did not sometimes err through fear or indignation, in their judgment of what was right, especially in times of war. But there is no hazard in asserting, that the general course of the policy adopted by our fathers in respect to the Indians, was characterized by justice and by kindness. The right of the Indians to the soil was admitted and respected. Patents and charters from the king were never considered good against the rights of the natives. Let any man demonstrate if he can, that in Connecticut a single rood of land was ever acquired of the Indians otherwise than by fair purchase, except what was conquered from the Pequots, in a war as righteous as ever was waged.

How the Indians were treated by the planters of the New Haven colony, appears on the face of the records, of which I propose to give some specimens, introducing first one passage from Winthrop, (II, 62,) which belongs to the history of New Haven.

"It is observable," says Winthrop in March, 1642, "how the Lord doth honor his people and justify their ways even before the heathen, when their proceedings are true and just, as appears by this instance. Those at New Haven, intending a plantation at Delaware, sent some men to purchase a large portion of land of the Indians there, but they refused to deal with them. It so fell out, that a Pequot sachem (being fled his country in our war with them, and having seated himself with his company upon that river ever since) was accidentally there at that time. He, taking notice of the English and their desire, persuaded the other sachem to deal with them, and told him, that howsoever they had killed his countrymen and driven them out, yet they were honest men, and had just cause to do as they did, for the Pequots had done them wrong, and refused to give such reasonable satisfaction as was demanded of them. Whereupon the sachem entertained them, and let them have what land they desired."

The most ancient record in existence at New Haven is, as it ought to be, the record of two treaties with the aboriginal proprietors,—by which the soil was purchased, and the relations thenceforward to subsist between the Indians and the English, were distinctly defined. The substance of these treaties is given by Trumbull, (I, 68,) but to many readers, an original document has an interest and a value far above the most perfect abstract. I therefore give these documents, though one is a little mutilated.

"Articles of agreement between Theophilus Eaton and John Davenport and others, English planters at Quinopiocke, on the one party, and Momaugin the Indian sachem of Quinopiocke, and Sugcogisin, Quesaquauch, Caroughood, Wesaucucke, and others of his council on the other party,—made and concluded, the 24th of November, 1638, Thomas Stanton being interpreter.

"First, That he, the said sachem, his council and company, do jointly profess, affirm and covenant, that the said Momaugin is the sole sachem of Quinopiocke, and hath an absolute and independent power to give, alien, dispose or sell all or any part of the lands in Quinopiocke; and that though he have a son now absent, yet neither his said son, nor any other person whatsoever, hath any right, title

or interest in any part of the said lands, so that whatsoever he the forenamed sachem, his council, and the rest of the Indians present, do and conclude, shall stand firm and inviolable against all claims and persons, whatsoever.

"Secondly, The said sachem, his council and company, (among which there was a squaw sachem, called Shampishuh, sister to the sachem, who either had or pretended some interest in some part of the land,) remembering and acknowledging the heavy taxes and imminent dangers which they lately felt and feared from the Pequots, Mohawks and other Indians, in regard of which they durst not stay in their country, but were forced to flee, and seek shelter among the English at Connecticut; and observing the safety and ease that other Indians enjoy near the English, of which benefits they have had a comfortable taste already, since the English began to build and plant at Quinopiocke, which with all thankfulness they now acknowledged; they jointly and severally gave and yielded up all right, title and interest to all the land, rivers and ponds, trees, with all the liberties and appurtenances belonging to the same, in Quinopiocke, to the utmost of their bounds, east, west, north, south, unto Theophilus Eaton, John Davenport and others, the present English planters there, and to their heirs and assigns forever, desiring from the said English planters, to receive such a portion of ground on the east side of the harbor, towards the fort at the mouth of the river of Connecticut, as might be sufficient for them, being but few in number, to plant in; and yet, within these limits to be hereafter assigned to them, they did covenant and freely yield up unto the said English, all the meadow ground lying therein, with full liberty to choose and cut down what timber they please for any use whatsoever, without any question, license, or consent to be asked from them, the said Indians; and if after their portion and place be limited, and set out by the English as above, they the said Indians, shall desire to remove to any other place within Quinopiocke bounds, but without the limits assigned them, that they do it not without leave, neither setting up any wigwam, nor breaking up any ground to plant corn, till first it be set out and appointed by the forenamed English planters for them.

"Thirdly, The said sachem and his council and company, desiring liberty to hunt and fish, within the bounds of Quinopiocke, now given and granted to the English, as before, do [hereby] jointly covenant and bind themselves to set no traps near any place where the

* * * * whether horses, oxen, kine, calves, sheep, goats, hogs or any such * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

any fish out of any wear belonging to any English, nor to do any thing near any such wear so as to * * or affright away any fish to the prejudice of such wear or wears; and that upon discovery of any inconveniency growing to the English by the Indians disorderly hunting, their hunting shall be regulated and limited for the preventing of any inconvenience, and yet with as little damage to the Indians in their hunting as may be.

"Fourthly, The said sachem, his council and company, do hereby covenant and bind themselves that none of them shall henceforth hanker* about any of the English houses at any time when the English use to meet about the public worship of God; nor on the Lord's day henceforward be seen, within the compass of the English town, bearing any burthens or offering to truck with the English for any commodity whatsoever; and that none of them henceforward without leave, open any latch belonging to any Englishman's door, nor stay in any English house after warning that he should leave the same, nor do any violence, wrong or injury to the persons of the English, whether man, woman, or child, upon any pretence whatsoever; and if the English of this plantation, by themselves or cattle, do any wrong or damage to the Indians, upon complaint, just recompense

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* The word *hanker* is used here in a sense not set down by Webster. In England, it is still used, colloquially, with the same meaning. Richardson gives no authority for such a use. Elsewhere in the records, the word is used in the same sense. June 7th, 1659, "Sam. Clarke," was brought before the court "for not attending the training," and the opportunity was improved to question him touching some "other miscarriages." "The governor told him that he had heard with grief what he had heard concerning him, whereby it appeared that he was a lewd young man." It was charged against him that he "goeth forth" on the evening after the Sabbath, "without the consent of the governor of the family, and is found *hankering* about men's gates to draw out company to him. Sam. confessed that he did sometimes go out in the evening after the Sabbath, but withal said that he went upon business when he did go forth. He was asked what business he had when he was *hankering* at Roger Allen's gate," &c.

This I suppose may pass for a genuine piece of the "blue laws." It may therefore be proper to add that on account of the absence of some "who could speak to the clearing of the case," "the whole business was respited till the next court; and he [was] wished to consider in the mean time what the Scripture saith, 'He that being often reproved,'" &c. I cannot find that the business was ever called up again.

shall be made by the English;—and that none of them henceforward use or take any Englishman's boat or canoe of what kind soever, from the place where it was fastened or laid, without leave from the owner first had and obtained; nor that they come into the English town with bows and arrows, or any other weapons whatsoever, in number above six Indians so armed at a time.

Fifthly, The said sachem, his council and company, do truly covenant and bind themselves, that if any of them shall hereafter kill or hurt any English cattle of what sort soever, though casually or negligently, they shall give full satisfaction for the loss or damage, as the English shall judge equal; but if any of them, for any respect, wilfully do kill or hurt any of the English cattle, upon proof, they shall pay the double value. And if at any time, any of them find any of the English cattle straying or lost in the woods, they shall bring them back to the English plantation, and a moderate price or recompense shall be allowed for their pains; provided, if it can be proved that any of them drove away any of the English cattle, wheresoever they find them, farther from the English plantation to make an * * or advantage or recompense for his pains finding or bringing them back, they shall in any such case pay damages for such dealings.

"Sixthly, The number of the Quinopiocke Indians, men, or youths grown to stature fit for service, being forty seven at present, they do covenant and bind themselves not to receive or admit any other Indians amongst them without leave first had and obtained from the English; and that they will not at any time hereafter entertain or harbor any that are enemies to the English, but will presently apprehend such and deliver them to the English; and if they know or hear of any plot by the Indians or others against the English, they will forthwith discover and make the same known to them, and in case they do not, to be accounted as parties in the plot, and to be proceeded against as such.

"Lastly, The said sachem, his council and company, do hereby promise truly and carefully to observe and keep all and every one of these articles of agreement; and if any of them offend in any of the premises, they jointly hereby subject and submit such offender or offenders, to the consideration, censure and punishment of the English magistrate, or officers appointed among them for government, without expecting that the English should first advise with them about it, yet in any such case of punishment, if the said sachem shall desire to know the reason and equity of such proceedings, he shall be informed of the same.

"The former article being read and interpreted to them, they by way of exposition desired that in the sixth article it might be added, That if any of the English cattle be killed or hurt casually or negligently, and proof be made it was done by some of the Quinopiocke Indians, they will make satisfaction; and if done by any other Indians in their sight, if they do not discover it and (if able to) bring the offender to the English, they will be accounted and dealt with as guilty.

"In consideration of all which, they desire from the English that if at any time hereafter they be affrighted in their dwellings assigned by the English unto them as before, they may repair to the English plantation for shelter; and that the English will there in a just cause, endeavor to defend them from wrong. But in any quarrel or wars which they shall undertake or have with other Indians upon any occasion whatsoever, they will manage their affairs by themselves without expecting any aid from the English.

"And the English planters before mentioned, accepting and granting according to the tenor of the premises, do further of their own accord, by way of free and thankful retribution, give unto the said sachem, council and company of the Quinopiocke Indians, twelve coats of English trucking cloth, twelve alchemy spoons, twelve hatchets, twelve hoes, two dozen of knives, twelve porringers, and four cases of French knives and scissors. All which being thankfully accepted by the aforesaid, and the agreements in all points perfected; for ratification and full confirmation of the same, the sachem, his council and sister, to these presents have set to their hands or marks, the day and year above written.

"Momaugin, — his mark.
"Sugcogisin, — his mark.
"Quesaquaush, — his mark.
"Carroughood, — his mark.
"Weesaucuck, — his mark.
"Shaumpishuh, — her mark.*

* Copies of these Indian marks may be seen in Barber's Hist. and Antiq. of New Haven, 27. The first is a rude resemblance of a bow; the second of a fish-hook. The third is a horizontal line, neither straight nor of any curve known to the mathematicians. The fourth is a small blot. The fifth may be imagined to stand for a war-club. And the squaw's mark is perhaps as much like a tobacco pipe, as the cloud which Hamlet showed to Polonius was "like a whale."

"I, Thomas Stanton, being interpreter in this treaty, do hereby profess in the presence of God, that I have fully acquainted the Indians with the substance of every article, and truly returned their answer and consent to the same, according to the tenor of the foregoing writing, the truth of which, if lawfully called, I shall readily confirm by my oath at any time. THOMAS STANTON."

"Articles of agreement betwixt Theophilus Eaton, John Davenport, and sundry other English planters at Quinnypiock on the one part, and Mantowese, son of an Indian sachem, living at Mattabezeck, and nephew to Sequin, on the other part, made and concluded the 11th day of December, 1638.

"First, the said Mantowese in presence and with allowance of Sawseunck, an Indian which came in company with him, doth profess, affirm and covenant to and with the said Theophilus Eaton, John Davenport, and others, above, that the land on both sides the river of Quinnypiock, from the northerly bounds of the land lately purchased by the said English of the Quinnypiock Indians, namely from the pond in the great meadow, about two miles above the great hill, to the head of the river at the great plain toward the plantations settled by the English upon the river of Quintecutt, southerly, which is about ten miles in length from north to south; the bounds of which land run also eight miles easterly from the river of Quinnypiock towards the river of Quinticutt, and five miles westerly towards Hudson's river,—doth truly and solely belong to him the said Mantowese, in right of his deceased mother, to whom the said land did appertain, and from whom it justly descends upon him as his inheritance, so that he hath an absolute and independent power to give, alien, dispose, or sell all, or any part of the said land as he shall think good; and that neither his said father, nor any other person whatsoever, have any right, title, or interest in any part of the land described and limited as above, whereby he or any other may hereafter justly question what the said Mantowese now doth, or lay any claim to any part of the said land now disposed of by him.

"Secondly, the said Mantowese being fully acquainted with the agreements lately passed betwixt the said English planters and the Sachem of Quinnypiock, his council and company, did freely of his own accord, upon full and serious deliberation, give, grant, and yield up, all his right, title, and interest, to all the land mentioned and bounded as above, with all the rivers, ponds, trees, and all liber-

ties and appurtenances whatsoever, belonging to the same, to the said Theophilus Eaton, John Davenport, and other English planters at Quinnypiock, and to their heirs and assigns forever, desiring from them, the said English planters, to receive such a small portion of land by the river's side about two miles beyond the tree over the river in the passage from hence towards the towns at Quintecutt, as may be sufficient for his small company being but ten men in number, besides women and children, which portion of land they desire may hereafter, upon a view, be assigned, appointed and limited unto them by the said English planters; reserving also to himself and his forenamed company, liberty, in fit seasons and due manner, without prejudice to the English, to hunt and fish and kill beaver, yet therein also to be regulated by the said English, upon discovery of any annoyance, as the Quinnypiock Indians are in that case.

"Lastly, the said Theophilus Eaton, John Davenport, &c. accepting from Mantowese this free gift of his land as above, do by way of thankful retribution give unto him eleven coats made of trucking cloth, and one coat for himself of English cloth, made up after the English manner, which being thankfully accepted by the said Mantowese, and the agreement in all points perfected; for ratification and full confirmation of the same, Mantowese and Sawseunck have hereunto set their hands or marks, this day and year before written.

"MANTOWESE, — his mark.

"SAWSEUNCK, — his mark.*

"I, John Clarke, being interpreter in this treaty, do hereby profess in the presence of God, that I have fully acquainted the Indians with the substance of every article, to the which they have freely agreed; that is to say, that Mantowese have given to Mr. Davenport and Mr. Eaton all his land which he had by his deceased mother, which he saith is from the head of the great plain to the pond, which he profess to be his, and promise to make it good to our English; and for this he is satisfied with twelve coats; only reserve a piece of land by the river for his men, which are ten, and many squaws, to plant in; and when our cows come there, what harm their dogs do to our cattle, they will satisfy for, and we for what harm our hogs do to them in corn; and as for hunting and fishing, they are acquainted, and do

* Copies of these marks are also in Barber. The first is a bow and arrow; the second a hatchet. The most ancient emblems of heraldry, probably had an origin not more dignified.

freely consent to them, as their mark witness,—the truth of which, if lawfully called, I shall readily confirm by my oath at any time:

"Per me, JOHN CLARKE."*

"We, Robert Coggswell, Roger Knapp, and James Love, do hereby renounce all right to any and every part of the forementioned land. Witness our hands hereunto.

"ROBERT COGGSWELL,
"JAMES LOVE,
"ROGER KNAPP, — his mark."

These two treaties define, with much exactness, the relations which the Indians were to sustain to the government of the New Haven colony. By the stipulations thus mutually agreed upon, the Indians inhabiting this soil were taken under the protection, and, in a limited sense, under the government of the English. Yet they retained all the land which they needed for planting; and their liberty to roam through the woods in their hunting, and to vex the streams with their fishing, was restrained only by the obligation not to interfere with the corn fields, the pastures, and the fisheries of the English. What the Indians retained after the treaty, was worth more to them than what they had before the treaty. The consideration which chiefly moved them to the cession was not the coats, the knives, and the hatchets, the pewter spoons and porringers, but the safety and manifold advantages of having the English for their neighbors and protectors.

That these treaties were ever violated by either party does not appear in history. After New Haven had lost its independent existence, these treaties still regulated the intercourse between the English here and their dependent neighbors. At the breaking out of Philip's war, after Eaton and Davenport were dead, the confidence of the Quinnipiacks in their protectors was unimpaired. See p. 163.

The land ceded by these treaties seems to have been all that part of New Haven county which fronts upon the Sound, between Guilford on the east and Milford on the west, a tract upon which there are now about 25,000 people, the poorest of which has more physical

* This interpreter seems to have been one of the first inhabitants of the colony. The interpreter in the former treaty, Thomas Stanton, was in the fort at Saybrook at the beginning there. He afterwards settled in the Pequot country, I believe, and was for many years a sort of chief dragoman in all important negotiations with the Indians.

comforts,—not to speak of intellectual and moral differences,—than the richest of the Indians enjoyed in 1638. Yet upon that tract at the date of the treaties, there were subsisting in savage wretchedness not quite sixty men, and the largest estimate of women and children will not make the entire native population more than two hundred and fifty. For every Indian there are now a hundred white men. If this change has been effected righteously, it is something worth thinking of by those who go for "the greatest happiness of the greatest number."

As to the actual treatment of the Indians under these treaties, I find that the limits of this article will not allow me to give all the illustrations which I had intended to give. Yet for the sake of impartiality, I begin with the first record after the formation of the government in 1639, which describes the trial and condemnation of a Pequot captain. The proceedings on the part of the government, are of very questionable equity, and are strongly censured by Dr. Trumbull, I, 115. The record begins, Oct. 26th, 1639, the day after the first election of civil officers.

"The civil affairs of the plantation being settled as before, by the providence of God, an Indian, called Messatunck, *alias* Nepaupuck, who had been formerly accused to have murderously shed the blood of some of the English, of his own accord, with a deer's head upon his back, came to Mr. Eaton's, where by warrant the marshal apprehended and pinioned him; yet notwithstanding by the subtlety and treachery of another Indian, his companion, he had almost made an escape; but by the same providence he was again taken, and delivered into the magistrate's power, and by his order safely kept in the stocks till he might be brought to a due trial. And the Indian who had attempted his escape was whipped by the marshal's deputy.

"Oct. 28th.—The Quillipieck Indian sagamore, with divers of his Indians with him, were examined before the magistrate and the deputies for this plantation, concerning Nepaupuck. They generally accused him to have murdered one or more of the English, and that he had cut off some of their hands, and had presented them to Sassacuse the Pequot sachem, boasting that he had killed them with his own hands.

"Mewhebato, a Quillipieck Indian, kinsman to the aforesaid Nepaupuck, coming at the same time to intercede for him, was examined what he knew concerning the murders charged upon the said Ne-

paupuck. At first he pretended ignorance; but with a distracted countenance and a trembling manner, being admonished to speak the truth, he did acknowledge him guilty according to the charge the other Indians had before made.

"All the other Indians withdrawing, Nepaupuck was brought in and examined. He confessed that Nepaupuck was guilty according to the tenor of the former charge, but denied that he was Nepaupuck. Mewhebato being brought in, after some signs of sorrow, charged him to his face that he had assisted the Pequots in murdering the English. This somewhat abated his spirit and boldness. But Wattoone, the son of Carrahoode, a councillor to the Quillipieck Indian sagamore, coming in, charged him more particularly that he had killed Abraham Finch, an Englishman, at Wethersfield; and that he himself, the said Wattoone, stood upon the island at Wethersfield, and beheld him the said Nepaupuck, now present, acting the said murder.* Lastly, the Quillipieck sagamore and the rest of the Indians being called in, to his face affirmed that he was Nepaupuck, and that he had murdered one or more of the English as before.

"Nepaupuck being by the concurrence of the testimony convinced, he confessed that he was the man, namely Nepaupuck, and boasted he was a great captain, had murdered Abraham Finch, and had his hand in other English blood. He said he knew he must die, and was not afraid of it, but laid his neck to the mantle-tree of the chimney, desiring his head might be cut off, or that he might die in any other manner the English should appoint, only he said fire was God, and God was angry with him, therefore he would not fall into his hands. After this he was returned to the stocks, and as before, a watch appointed for his safe custody.

"A General Court 29th of October, 1639.—A general court being assembled to proceed against the said Indian Nepaupuck, who was then brought to the bar, and being examined as before, at the first he denied that he was that Nepaupuck which had committed those murders wherewith he was charged. But when he saw that the Quillipieck sagamore and his Indians did again accuse him to his face, he confessed that he had his hand in the murder of Abraham Finch; but yet he said there was a Mohauke of that name that had killed more than he.

"Wattoone affirmed to his face that he, the said Nepaupuck, did not only kill Abraham Finch, but was one of them that killed the

* See Trumbull, I, 77.

three men in the boat or shallop on Connecticut River;* and that there was but one Nepaupuck, and this was he, and the same that took a child of Mr. Swain's at Wethersfield. Then the said Nepaupuck being asked if he would not confess he deserved to die, he answered it is *weregin*.†

"The court having had such pregnant proof, proceeded to pass sentence upon him according to the nature of the fact, and the rule in that case, He that sheds man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed. Accordingly his head was cut off the next day, and pitched upon a pole in the market place."

Several considerations naturally lead us to condemn this entire transaction.

1. How was this Indian accountable to the courts of the New Haven plantation? He seems to have been a Pequot; and at the time when the alledged crimes were committed, the Pequots were an independent sovereignty.

2. The murders were not committed within the bounds of the New Haven colony, nor upon subjects of this jurisdiction. They were committed a full year before the settlers of New Haven made their landing at Quinnipiack. It may therefore be said, that if the murderer was personally accountable to the English any where, he was accountable to the colony upon the Connecticut.

3. Dr. Trumbull remarks that it is not according to the maxims of "this enlightened age, that the subjects of princes killing men by their orders, in war, ought to be treated as murderers." Nepaupuck was a savage warrior making war, after the fashion of the Pequots, against the English. Ought he to have been held personally accountable, after the war was ended, for his conduct as an enemy at the beginning of the war?

4. Dr. Trumbull also remarks on the barbarous ceremony of setting up the head of the decapitated offender on a pole, as "too

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* Trumbull, I, 76.

† Roger Williams (Key, 50) gives the word *wunegin* as signifying "well or good;" and from an observation of his, (ib. 96,) it appears that in the differing dialects of neighboring tribes, *n* and *r* were interchanged. *Anum*, "a dog," in the Cowweset, became *arum* in the Quinnipiack. So in Eliot's Bible, Gen. 1, 10, "God saw that it was good," *wunnaaman God na en wunnegen*. In the epitaph on a Mohegan sachem, who died in 1741, are these two lines,—

"For courage bold, and things *werhsegan*
He was the glory of Mohegan."

nearly symbolizing with the examples of uncivilized and pagan nations." The censure is undoubtedly just. The English may have deemed it necessary for the purpose of impressing upon the savages a sense of the sternness of English justice against murderers; but in so judging they took counsel more of fear than of wisdom.

On the other hand, while in my judgment the proceeding as a whole was unjustifiable, there are several considerations against condemning it too harshly.

1. It was the constant practice of the New England colonies, whenever a murder had been committed by the Indians, to demand of the sachems the surrender of the murderers for punishment, together with such other satisfaction as the nature of the case required. Upon the face of all their dealings with the Indians, the great law, "He that sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed," stood prominent. Every other crime could be made the subject of treaty and compromise with the tribe, and could be settled without the visitation of English justice on the head of the individual perpetrator. But for the murder of man, woman, or child, belonging to the English, there was no expiation, no satisfaction, "no ransom," but in the surrender of the murderers for punishment. Looking at this part of their policy, disconnected from the individual case before us, who will say that it was either unwise or unrighteous. The "inner light" in the bosom of the savage, more to be trusted, if we believe Fox and Bancroft,* than the "dead letter" of any "outward religion," justified the policy. Could any other policy have been so well calculated to teach those bloody barbarians the sacredness of human life?

2. In dealing with the Indians on the principle above mentioned, the New Englanders were not in the habit of inquiring where the murder was committed,—whether within the bounds of this colony, or of that, or of any. If a murder had been committed, that was enough. We may well ask, Was it not enough? Was there any injustice in insisting that the lives of the English, not only in their dwellings and on their planting grounds, but on the rivers and in the forests, should be inviolable? Was there any injustice in demanding that the Indian who had any where imbrued his hands in English blood, should be delivered up to English justice? I know that this is not the law which regulates in such cases the intercourse of

* See Bancroft, II, 334—352.

civilized governments; but it was the Indian law of nations, revealed to the barbarians by their "inner light."

3. In this particular instance, the murders were part of a series of atrocities for which Connecticut and Massachusetts had jointly made war upon the Pequots, and swept them from the country. Here was one of the actual perpetrators of those atrocities, who had survived the ruin of his nation. Because his nation had been swept away, was he, the bloody perpetrator of those hideous murders, to go unpunished? Such, doubtless, was the reasoning by which the court was misled in the condemnation and punishment of Nepaupuck.

4. It is also to be observed that the Indian, though by no means wanting in ingenuity, did not question at all the jurisdiction of the court or the equity of the proceedings. "Being asked if he would not confess he deserved to die, he answered, it is *weregin*." The law of God written upon his conscience told him that the punishment was just. The question is, whether it was justly inflicted,—a question that escaped his uninstructed sense of justice.

This is the only instance of a questionable act in respect to the Indians, which I have found in the history of the New Haven colony. Every thing else in the records accords perfectly with the testimony of Hubbard, who ascribes the peace which the planters here enjoyed with their Indian neighbors, to "a due carefulness in doing justice to them upon all occasions against the English."

Among the earliest regulations adopted in this colony respecting the Indians, were the orders that no individual should buy any land of the natives, unless specially authorized to do so; and that none should furnish them "directly or indirectly with any ammunition whatsoever." To these was soon added a law strictly prohibiting the selling or giving of any intoxicating drink to Indians,—a law often violated by the unthinking good nature of individuals, but always put in force when an Indian was found intoxicated.

The first instance of the appearance of a New Haven Indian in court as an offender, is on the 1st of July, 1646. "Pawquash, a Quillipiock Indian, was first complained of for leaving open the oystershell-field gate, and damage being done thereby, refused to give any satisfaction. Secondly, he about four years since, came into Mr. Crane's house when they were blessing God in the name of Jesus Christ; and that he then did blasphemously say, that Jesus Christ was *mattamoy* and naught, and his bones rotten, and spake of an Indian in Mantoise's plantation ascended into heaven. Which

was witnessed by Mr. Crane, Mrs. Crane, Mrs. Ling, Wm. Holt, Goodwife Camp. The sentence of the court was that he should be severely whipped for his scorning at our worshipping God, and blaspheming the name of our Lord Jesus; and informed him that if he should do so hereafter, or [if] now it had been against the light he now has, it would hazard his life. And for the damage by means of the gate being left open, he was to pay 5*s* to Thomas Knowles."

In 1649, the united colonies were greatly alarmed by the plotting of the Narragansetts and Nehantics with the Mohawks. The congress of commissioners gave directions that the colonies should be put in readiness for any emergency. Trumbull, I, 180. Accordingly the records here at that time were filled with orders putting the town in a state of defense, and raising men and stores for the public service. Yet the only allusion to the Indians of this neighborhood is, "It was thought fit that when men shall go forth against the Indians, that *our* Indians be sent for, and warned not to come to or about the town, but upon their peril." The sight of savages in the town at such a time might create alarm, and result in disturbance.

In the following record of an action of assault and battery, we have an illustration of the confidence with which the Indians looked to the courts of New Haven for protection.

"June 25th, 1650.—A seaman that went in Michael Taynter's vessel, was brought before the governor and accused by Wash, an Indian, that he having hired him to show him the way to Totoket, and agreed for 12*d*; when he was upon the way, Wash asked him for his money; the man gave him 10*d*, lack two wampum. Wash said he must have 12*d*, else he would not go; whereupon the seaman took him by the arm, pulled him, and threw him down, and stamped upon him, and in striving broke his arm. The seaman said he agreed with him for 10*d*, and gave him so much; but Wash would not go, and struck him first; and he cannot tell that he broke his arm, for it was sore before. Whereupon Mr. Besthup and Mr. Augur, two surgeons, being desired to give their advice, said, to their best apprehension, the arm was broken now, though by reason of an old sore, whereby the bone might be infected, might cause it the more easily to break. The court was called, but none came to the governor but Mr. Crane, Mr. Gibbard, and Francis Newman. They would have persuaded Wash to have taken some wampum for satisfaction, but he would not hear of it, but said he desired it might be healed at the man's charge. Whereupon the court desired Mr. Besthup to do the

best he could to heal it, and promised him satisfaction, and for the present sent the man to prison. But quickly after, Philip Leeke, John Jones, and Edward Camp, became his bail, and bound themselves in a bond of £10, that upon a month's warning left with Philip Leeke, the man should make his appearance here before authority. And David Sellevant and Robert Lord became sureties, and engaged to bear them harmless."

In 1653, there was another general alarm throughout New England, and great expectation of a war not only with the Narragansetts and their confederates, but also with the Dutch. A town meeting was held on the 21st of March. "Thomas Jeffery was chosen sergeant for this town in the room of Sergeant Andrews," who "by reason of his weakness and remote dwelling," could not supply the place in such an emergency. Ephraim How* also "was propounded and chosen drummer for this town," "Nathaniel Kimberly being gone who did supply the place." The nightly watch was increased from four to seven, who were to watch from half an hour after sunset till sunrise. "And they are not to shoot off any of their guns except it be in case of an alarm; against which time men were desired to prepare themselves by having their arms ready that they may quietly put them on and march away to the meeting house or otherwise as the order is; and that beforehand they would [determine] how to dispose of wives and children, that they do not hang about them to hinder them from the public service." The train band were ordered to bring to every public meeting at least five or six charges of powder and shot. The farmers, when they came to meeting, were to "leave no more arms at home than they leave men to use them." A watch was to be kept at the farms; and in the town beside the nightly watch, two men, taken in course, were to keep ward by day. It was "ordered that the half pikes be forthwith headed, and the whole ones mended or made as they need, and Lieut. Nash was desired to look after it." Every soldier was to provide himself with cartridges; "also no man is to leave his gun in the meeting house on any public meeting days, as the manner of some is, lest their guns be seized and they fined for it." "Samuel Whitehead was desired to dress the swords that are brought to him for that purpose; and the gunsmiths are desired to attend to the mending of the guns in the town that are brought to them." Wood was ordered to

* For a marvelous story about this Ephraim How, in Mather's own marvelous style, see Magn. VI, 3.

be provided for the watch house. The door of the meeting house next the soldiers' seat was to be kept clear from women and children, that in case of an alarm the soldiers might have a free passage. Then after the transaction of some more ordinary and peaceful business,* "the governor acquainted the town, that the Indians complain that the swine that belong to the town or farms do them much wrong in eating their corn, and now they intend to take in a new piece of ground; and they desired the English would help them to fence it, and that those who have meadows at the end of their ground would fence it, and save them fencing about. Sergeant Jeffery and John Brocket were desired to go speak with them, to know what ground it is which they intend to take in, and to view it and see what fencing it may be, and give them the best direction they can. The sagamore also desires the town to give him a coat. He saith he is old and poor, and cannot work. The town declared themselves free that he should have a coat given him at the town's charge."

At the next town meeting, on the 11th of April, "the governor desired that in his absence [he was to attend a meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies on the 19th] they would be careful to see the watches duly attended; and that the great guns may be fitted for service, and that the platform may be finished, and though it cost more than the jurisdiction will allow, yet it must be done, and New Haven must bear it," &c. Then, after some ordinary business, "it is ordered concerning the Indians' land, spoken of, the last court, that Thomas Jeffery, John Brocket, William Tuttil, and Robert Talmadge, shall be a committee to view the ground which they say is theirs, and to advise them for the best about fencing; the meadow lying against their grounds bearing its due proportion; and that some men be appointed at the town's charge to show them how and help them in their fencing; that so we may not have such complaints from them of cattle and hogs spoiling their corn, which they say makes their squaws and children cry."

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* Immediately after the order about a free passage from the soldiers' seat in the meeting house, to the door, follows, "The boys and youths of the town are ordered to sit in the seat where the scholars used to sit, and one of the corporals are desired to sit in the uppermost seat behind them, to see that they be not disorderly; and what cannot sit there are to sit before the deacons' seat, and old Brother Wheeler is to look to them; and if any boys absent themselves from these places, the marshal is to look after them and bring them in."

The apprehension of danger was continually increasing, and in the month of May, "it was ordered that the officers give in charge to the warders, to let the Indians know that they are not to come into the town with any arms, and if after warning any shall so come, that they take their arms away. And if any strange Indians come into the town, that they examine them; and if their business be public, to carry them to the magistrate that he may know it; but if they have no such business, then they are to cause them to depart, and not suffer them to walk up and down the town."

In that busy time of military preparation, the execution of the order for fencing the Indians' planting grounds appears to have been neglected. But in October, the subject was called up again and "it was thought most convenient, and so ordered, that the townsmen shall treat with the Indians, getting Mr. Pierson and his Indian for interpreters,* and make a full agreement in writing, what we shall do, and what they shall be bound to; and let them know that what their agreement is, we expect they shall perform it." Accordingly, "at a general court for New Haven, December 5th, 1653, the governor informed the town that the meeting is about an agreement made with the Indians about fencing them in a new cornfield, wherein, at the town's request, Mr. Pierson hath been desired to be helpful as interpreter; to which agreement the townsmen have subscribed on behalf of the town, and the sagamore and sundry other Indians have set their marks, for themselves and the rest of the Indians,—Mr. Pierson and John Brocket witnesses,—made the 29th of November, 1653; wherein threescore days' work is promised them towards their fence, and they have bound themselves to do no damage to the English cattle, and to secure their own corn from damage, or to require none;—which agreement was read to the town, and assented to by them. And after some debate about the manner of doing the days' work, it was voted that it should be done by men fit and able for the work, and be paid out of the town treasury."

The agreement being put upon the files and not upon the records, we have only the abstract given above, to show us what it was.

At a court of magistrates for the jurisdiction, 18th October, 1656, "New Haven Indians were with the court, and desired them to lend

* The Rev. Abraham Pierson, the first minister of Branford, is commemorated among those early ministers of New England who like Eliot labored for the conversion of the heathen around them. He preached to the Indians in New Haven colony, and to aid him in this work a considerable sum was voted by the Commissioners of the United Colonies.—Trumbull, I, 469.

them, now in the time of their fears, three pounds of powder. They were told that they must remove themselves to the other side where their own land is, and not dwell here near the town, where they are disorderly and give offense; and upon their remove thither, which they have seven or eight days liberty for, they shall have three pounds of powder lent them."

At a similar court on the 25th of May, 1657, "Thomas Hopewell, an Indian that inhabits at Branford, was complained of for giving railing and threatening words to several persons, as John Whitehead, Francis Bradley, Samuel Ward, Josias Ward, and Goodwife Williams and her son, saying that he would knock some of them in the head, stab some of them at the heart, meet with them in the woods some time or other, and then let them look to it. He hath also accused to Goodw. Williams, Francis Bradley for being naught with his wife, and after denied it again. But being examined and several writings read by way of testimony, witnessing his miscarriages, he could show no just cause for such words or carriage, but said he had no witness here to clear him. Whereupon he had liberty to send for them; and he was told, upon security he might have his liberty; but failing of that he was committed to prison in the mean time. After a convenient season of waiting, he was called before the court again, but no witness appeared to clear him; only he accused the wife of Richard Harrison for giving him some idle words which he requited with worse, both which the court witnessed against, and told him that if he can clear himself of all or any of these charges, he hath liberty. At last he confessed that he had done foolishly, and said he was faulty in the particulars mentioned, and promised amendment. Whereupon Mr. Crane, John Whitehead, Francis Bradley, and Richard Harrison, who where present, declared themselves satisfied so far as to make a trial for a time. And the court told Thomas the Indian that the miscarriages are very great, and such as may not be borne, and had it been an Englishman he would have been witnessed against in another manner; but upon his confession, and promise to walk inoffensively hereafter, the court will spare him, and also make a trial for this time; and so upon his paying his fees for imprisonment, and other charges, if it be required, he may have his liberty." May not this Thomas Hopewell have been Mr. Pierson's Indian, mentioned p. 347? Another "Thomas the Indian," a wheelright, appears upon the town records in 1657, as an absconding debtor.

In April, 1657, the Quinnipiack Indians asked leave of the town to remove from their allotted ground in East Haven, and to hire some land for planting about Oyster Point, desiring to live there for that summer. Their request was accompanied with fair promises, "that they would not be injurious to the English, and that they would not work on the Sabbath day." The townsmen were authorized to treat with them, and were instructed to insist on these conditions,—"that they harbor no strange Indians to dwell with them; that they kill all their dogs, (some of them having done mischief already;) that they neither burn nor otherwise destroy any man's fence, nor cut wood upon any man's ground without leave, nor take away any wood already cut, as some of them have done, and if they do, just satisfaction will be required; that they stay not late in the town at night, nor come into the town with any arms, hatchets, clubs, &c.; that they come not into any houses without asking leave, and if they are bid to go away, that they do it without gainsaying." Thus instructed, "the committee met and treated with the sagamore and some other Indians deputed, who after consideration returned answer, that the Indians would not kill their dogs." Upon this point the negotiation failed.

In September, 1659, "Wampom, the sachem of Totoket, entered an action against Thomas Mulliner, concerning damage he sustained in corn planted upon land hired of him. But through the want of an interpreter, the court could not come to the knowledge of the case. The plaintiff was desired to procure an interpreter against the court in October next; at which time, he was told, that the court would attend the issuing of the matter." Probably the affair was settled between the parties; for nothing more appears on the records.

In October, 1648, Mr. John Whitmore, of Stamford, was murdered in the woods by the Indians. Dr. Trumbull gives the story, (I, 176.) "The sachem's son first carried the news into town, and reported that one Toquattoes had killed him, and had some of his clothes, of which he gave a particular description. From this circumstance, it was suspected, that he was either a principal or an accomplice in the crime. No such evidence, however, could be obtained as would warrant the apprehending him. The English took great pains to find the remains of Mr. Whitmore, but could make no discovery at that time. About two months after, Uncas, with several of his Indians, went to Stamford, and making inquiry concerning

Mr. Whitmore's body, the sachem's son and one Kehoran, another of the natives who had been suspected, led Uncas, with his men, and a number of the English, directly to the place of his remains. Upon carrying them into town, the sachem's son and Kehoran fell a-trembling, and manifested such signs of guilt, that the Moheagans declared that they were guilty. But before they could be apprehended, they made their escape. The Indians at Stamford and its vicinity, either through fear of their sachem, or favor to his son, or from some other cause, charged the murder upon Toquattoes. But neither he, nor the other suspected persons, were delivered up, nor could the English bring them to any examination respecting the subject."

Certainly the suspicion against the sachem's son was very strong. I cannot but suspect that in some communities, so many suspicious circumstances would have been thought proof enough against an Indian. But in 1662, fourteen years after the murder, Taphanse, the sachem's son, was arrested and brought to trial in New Haven. The record of the trial covers four folio pages in the minute chirography of James Bishop, and therefore cannot be given here. Instead of a transcript, I offer a brief summary of the testimony, and of the replies of the defendant.

1. It was proved against him that on the day on which the murder was committed, he was with some other Indians at the house of Goodman Whitmore, and shook Goodwife Whitmore by the hand, and asked her "where her netop was, for he so big loved her netop;" and that this fawning of his was such as awakened instantly the woman's suspicion, and filled her with the apprehension that some evil had befallen her husband. To this he answered, "What shall he say if testimony come in against him; but if he speak the truth he must say he was not there, and that it was a mistake." And this the interpreter said, "he spake in such a phrase as noted his confirmation of it more than ordinary, 'that if Manatue [Manitou] was here, he would say the same as he doth.'"

2. It was proved that Taphanse came to Mr. Lawes' about sunrise, on the second morning after Goodman Whitmore left home, and brought the news that an Englishman had been killed; that being asked, where, he answered that he knew not whether it was ten miles off or twenty, but pointed "up-the-river-ward," intimating that it was in that direction;—that upon farther inquiry he said the murder was committed by an Indian that lived up near the Mohawks, who had told them at their wigwams that he would kill an English-

man, and who, when they offered him wampum not to do it, refused the wampum and went away angry, and after the murder returned again, bringing some of the murdered man's apparel; and that in the haste in which this murderer, whom he named Toquattoes, went away, he left one of the stockings at their wigwams. It also appeared that Mr. Lawes and some others went with him to the wigwams; and on the way he so trembled and shook, that several of them took notice of it as a sign of guilt;—and that there, after showing them the stocking, though he had promised to return with them and help them seek the dead body, he gave them the slip and made his escape. To this he answered only by a denial of the facts testified. As for the trembling, Mr. Minor, the interpreter, testified that he had been often among the Indians when mischief was done among the English, and that those Indians who were innocent would tremble for fear.

3. It was proved that afterwards, when Uncas and his Indians went with several of the Stamford Indians to seek the dead body, he not only conducted them directly to the spot, notwithstanding his former professions of ignorance, but afterwards as they were roasting venison, slipped out of sight and ran away, "so that Uncas brought word that Taphanse was *matchet*."* To this he replied that he did run away, because he had been told by another Indian that Uncas was intending to seize him. He admitted that he did very ill in so doing, and gave just cause of suspicion, and professed to be very sorry for it. He also said that Toquattoes had told him, some time after the murder was committed, where the remains could be found.

4. This was another ground of suspicion. There appeared to have been no little "correspondency" and mutual understanding between Taphanse and the murderer. He was asked how he knew so perfectly that Toquattoes did the murder,—was he by? To this his answer was not entirely satisfactory, though it might be true, and if true, was consistent with his innocence. He was asked how he came to see Toquattoes after the murder, when he ascertained the place where the remains were to be found. He answered that Mr. Lawes sent him on that errand,—a circumstance, which in his former examination at Stamford he had not mentioned at all. It also appeared that Toquattoes had been at Stamford the winter before the trial; and that Taphanse saw him there, and though he knew himself to be suspected, took no pains to clear himself by

* "*Matchit*—naught or evil." Roger Williams, Key, 50.

making it known that the murderer was there, but concealed the guilty person. He admitted that this was suspicious; but said the English never told him to do any such thing.

The sentence of the court was pronounced by Gov. Leet. It exhibits, as the decisions of those courts sometimes do, some principles that seem to us altogether out of place in a judicial proceeding; but it shows no hatred towards the Indian. After summing up the evidence, the governor declared, "that in the whole there stands a blot against him of suspicion; that there was sufficient ground for his apprehending and committing to durance, and all that he hath said at this time cannot clear him of a stain of suspicion. But as being guilty of the murder directly or accessary, he did pronounce him not guilty in point of death; but must declare him to stand bound to pay all charges that hath been about him; and leave him guilty of suspicion, and that he stands bound as his duty, to do his best endeavor to obtain the murderer, and now to remain in durance until the next session of the court, about a fortnight hence, except he can give some assurance of his paying the charge before;—which charge was concluded to be £10."

The Indian answered, "that he would do his utmost endeavor to procure Toquattoes; and for the charge he is poor, but he will send to his friends to see what may be done in it." He "desired that his chain may be taken off; he was told, then he would run away. He answered that upon his running away he confessed himself guilty, and said they should kill him. Upon this he was granted to be at liberty, so that he appear at the next meeting of the court, which he promised to do, although he could not obtain the money." Nothing seems to have been done at the next court. The charge was doubtless borne by the jurisdiction.

Another specimen of justice inflicted upon the English for wrong done to the Indians, is found under the date of the first of March, 1664. "Nathaniel Tharpe being called before the court for stealing venison from an Indian called Ourance,—Ourance was called and asked what he had to say against Nathaniel Tharpe. Nasup on his behalf declared, that Ourance had killed a deer, and hanged some of it upon a tree and brought some of it away, and coming by (on the Sabbath day in the afternoon) Nathaniel Tharpe's house, his dog barked, and Nathaniel Tharpe came out and asked Ourance, what he carry? and Ourance said, Venison, and further said that he had more a little walk in the woods. Then Nathaniel Tharpe said to him that the wolf would eat it. Ourance said, no, he had hanged it

upon a tree. Then he said that Nathaniel Tharpe said to him, Where, where?—and he told him, A little walk, and to-morrow he would truck it. Then to-morrow Ourance went for the venison, and two quarters of it was gone; and he see this man's track in the snow, and see blood. Then he came to Nathaniel Tharpe and tell him that he steal his venison; but Nathaniel Tharpe speak, Ourance lie, and that he would tantack him. And Ourance further said, that he whisper to Nathaniel Tharpe, and told him if he would give him his venison he would not discover him; but still he peremptorily denied it, and told many lies concerning it, and after it was found in an out house of his, he said he had trucked it the week before, &c. Nathaniel Tharpe was asked what he had to say to this that was laid against him? He answered, he should not deny that which was true; but that he said so often to him, Where, where it was, he did not; but he did ask him where he had been; and that he told him, in the woods a little walk; and that which he had said before the magistrates was the truth, that he had a hurry came upon him to go to fetch it; and he went in the evening after the Sabbath, and followed the Indian's track, and found it. He said that his sin was great," &c. "He was told seriously of his sin and of his falseness"—of which some particulars are set down in the record;—"and he was told the several aggravations of his sin, as that it seemed to be conceived on the Lord's day, staying at home by reason of some bodily weakness,—and that he had done it to an Indian, and to a poor Indian, and when himself had no need of it,—and so often denying it, &c. whereby he makes the English and their religion odious to the heathen, and thereby hardens them." "So the court proceeded to sentence, and for his theft declared, according to the law in the case, that he pay double to the Indian, viz. the venison with two bushels of Indian corn; and for his notorious lieing, and the several aggravations of his sin, that he pay as a fine to the plantation 20 shillings, and sit in the stocks the court's pleasure. And he was told that were it not that they considered him as sometimes distempered in his head, they should have been more sharp with him."

The first trial on the records of the New Haven colony is that of the Pequot captain. The last is the trial of an Indian from a distance, who, for some abuse offered to the person of a young girl, was ordered to be severely whipped and sent away to his own country, and warned not to return again at his peril. This was on the 23d of May, 1664.

## No. IX.

### GOVERNOR EATON.

After the death of Gov. Eaton, "there was found in his cabinet a paper fairly written with his own hand, and subscribed also with his own hand, having his seal also thereunto affixed, as his last will and testament, which said will though not testified by any witnesses, nor subscribed by any hands as witnesses," was presented to the court of magistrates, and was by them recognized and confirmed as Governor Eaton's last will and testament, notwithstanding the informality, "because," said they, "his hand writing is so well known to many of this court and very many others, that we do believe and judge that the said paper was all written and subscribed with the said Mr. Eaton's own hand, and intended by him to be his will and testament."

The will begins thus, "I, Theophilus Eaton, sometime of London, merchant, now planter in New Haven, in New England, at present enjoying, through God's goodness, comfortable health, and memory, but considering the shortness and uncertainty of man's life and my own age and weakness, do make and ordain," &c. "First, I commend my soul into the hands of God, reconciled and become a father unto me in Christ Jesus my Lord, and my body," &c. He gives to his wife one third part of his real estate "whether in England, lying and being in the parish of Great Budworth, in the county of Chester, or in any other place in the said county, or whether in New England, in or near New Haven aforesaid, to have and to hold the same during her life. He also gives to his wife one third of the residue of his estate, his debts and funeral expenses being first paid, adding, "and in token of my love, fifty pounds over and above her thirds." "And whereas I received of Mr. John Evance, sometime of New Haven, now settled in London, by order of Mr. Nathaniel Riley of London, the sum of one hundred pounds for a legacy intended for the good of some part of New England, though not so expressed, I hereby declare that I have already delivered to our reverend pastor, Mr. John Davenport, certain books lately belonging to my brother, Mr. Samuel Eaton, intended for the use of a college, and apprised, as I take it, to about or near twenty pounds, (as by my brother's ac-

count may appear,) as a part of the said hundred pounds; and further, I have disbursed in rigging, iron-work, blocks and other charges, several years since, towards the ship Fellowship, I conceive, the whole remainder of the said £100, all which, I take it, is in the hands of Mr. Stephen Goodyear, as by an account he hath under my hand; or if it should fall any thing short, my will and mind is that it be duly made up out of my estate, and be improved for the good of New Haven, by the advice of the magistrates and elders there." He provides for a settlement of accounts with his brother Samuel and leaves him "twenty pounds as a legacy." He gives "to Mary Low, daughter to my sister Frances, the sum of ten pounds,"—"to my wife's son, Thomas Yale, five pounds,"—"to my dear son-in-law, Mr. Hopkins, and to my reverend pastor, Mr. John Davenport, to each of them, ten pounds, as a small token of my love and respect." The remainder of his estate he orders to be divided equally between his three children, Mary, Theophilus, and Hannah; only from Mary's part is to be deducted £200 previously paid for her to her husband, Valentine Hill; and "what shall be paid out of my estate to answer any miscarriages of my son Theophilus," is to be deducted from his portion. His son-in-law, Edward Hopkins, and his wife, are appointed, executor and executrix. The instrument is dated 12th of August, 1656.

| | |
|---|---|
| The inventory of his estate in the colony is summed up at - - - - - - | £1515 12 6 |
| To which was to be added for debts due to the estate, - - - - - - | 41 00 2 |
| From which was to be deducted for debts due from the estate, and funeral expenses, - | 115 17 1 |
| "So there rests, - - - | £1440 15 7" |

He who reads over the particulars inventoried will not fail to perceive that the governor, as Hubbard says, "maintained a port in some measure answerable to his place." A few of the particulars are selected.

| | |
|---|---|
| "Imprimis, all his wearing apparel, - - | £50 00 00 |
| Itm. in plate, - - - - - - | 107 11 00 |
| Itm. in a piece of gold 20*s.*, and in silver, 25*s.*, | 2 05 00 |
| Itm. in two signet rings of gold, - - | 2 12 00"* |

* There was also "a silver gilt basin and ewer" valued at £40, which, being claimed by Mrs. Eaton "as her proper estate," was not included in the inventory. See Mather, II, 27.

Here is a curious illustration of the scarcity of money. The richest man in New Haven with something like $700 worth of plate in his house, had only about $10 in money. This might be called a hard currency.

The articles "in the green chamber" were as follows.

| | |
|---|---|
| ——— "a cypress chest, - - - | £1 10 0 |
| Itm. a cupboard with drawers, 45*s.*, a short table, 6*s.*8*d.*, | 2 11 8 |
| Itm. a bedstead, 10*s.*, a tapestry covering for a bed, £4, | 4 10 0 |
| Itm. a tapestry carpet, £4, a bed coverlet, 13*s.* 4*d.*, | 4 13 4 |
| Itm. a green cupboard cloth, 26*s.* 8*d.*,—another cupboard cloth, 15*s.*, - - - - | 2 01 8 |
| Itm. 6 cushions of Turkey work, a long window cushion, - - - - - | 2 13 4 |
| Itm. 2 needlework cushions, 16*s.*, 6 green cushions, 20*s.*, | 1 16 0 |
| Itm. a couch with the appurtenances, - - | 1 10 0 |
| Itm. a green cupboard cloth, 6*s.* 8*d.*, a green carpet fringed, 30*s.*, - - - - | 1 16 8 |
| Itm. 2 white blankets, - - - - | 1 06 8 |
| Itm. a red cupboard cloth laced, - - - | 5 6 |
| Itm. a set of curtains with valance fringed, - | 1 10 0 |
| Itm. a down bed, 4 pillows, and a feather bolster, | 6 10 0 |
| Itm. 3 white blankets, £2. 10*s.*, a rug, £2. 10*s.*, - | 5 00 0 |
| Itm. a set of green curtains and valance, fringed and laced, - - - - - - | 3 00 0 |
| Itm. hangings about the chamber, - - | 2 15 0 |
| Itm. a pair of brass andirons, dogs, fire-pans, and tongs of brass, - - - - | 1 10 0 |
| Itm. a short green carpet, 3*s.* 4*d.*, a great chair, and two little chairs, 18*s.*, - - - | 1 01 4 |
| Itm. 6 low stools, 24*s.*, a looking glass, 10*s.*, - | 1 14 0 |
| Itm. red valance, crewel and canvass, - - | 10 0 |

Beside "the green chamber," there was "the blue chamber," with nothing of "blue laws" in the furniture,—"the hall," a stately apartment as I judge, with "drawing table," and "round table," "green cushions," "great chair with needlework," "high chairs" and "high stools," "low chairs" and "low stools," "Turkey carpet," "high wine stools," "great brass andirons," &c.—"the parlor," less considerable than the hall,—"Mrs. Eaton's chamber," with abundant furnishing,—"the chamber over the kitchen,"—and "the other chamber." In "the counting house" one item is,

"books, and a globe, and a map," amounting to £48. 15*s*. The real estate, consisting of "the house with all the accommodations thereunto, with the two farms, and the half part of the mill," is apprised at £525.

The estate of Governor Eaton, was by a vote of the town, freed from taxes for a year after his death, as a testimony of gratitude for his great public services. At the suggestion of Lieut. Nash, it was provided that this should not be a precedent for similar exemptions afterwards.

Mrs. Eaton, soon after her husband's death, returned to England with her children. The town sent a man with her to Boston at the public expense. This was done, obviously, less out of affection to her than out of gratitude to the memory of her husband. By this removal, Elihu Yale, her grandson, whose name was afterwards given to the college here, was taken to England, he being then about ten years old. To my mind there is a beauty in the providential connection between the family of Eaton and the endowment of Yale College.

The governor in the New Haven colony, and in the other colonies at that early day, was not simply the head of the executive department. He was chief magistrate. He presided in all courts, from the General Court for the jurisdiction down to the town meeting for New Haven. Eaton was the ruling mind of the colony in all that related to the laws and the administration of the laws; and if there is any thing to be ashamed of in the early jurisprudence of New Haven, the disgrace must attach itself to his memory. It was my intention to give in this place, from the only authentic sources, a complete exhibition of the courts, laws, crimes, and punishments in the colony of New Haven, as they were in theory and in actual operation. But I find that the limits of this volume will not allow me to enter upon such an undertaking. A mere outline would not be satisfactory, either to the friends, or to the maligners, of the New England fathers.

## No. X.

### THE STATEMENT OF THE NEW HAVEN COLONY.

It was once said by a well informed man, that the coerced union of New Haven with Connecticut was parallel in wrong with the partition of Poland. Without assenting to so strong an affirmation, we must admit that the transactions of that period on the part of Connecticut, "do not tell well in history." There is a strong and highly probable tradition, that many of the people of New Haven colony were at the first desirous of a union with Connecticut on equal terms. Yet the manner in which the Connecticut authorities proceeded, not merely proposing a union, but by virtue of their royal charter demanding submission, and receiving under their protection, not only those towns which chose to unite with them, but even individuals in towns which adhered to their old organization, seems to have occasioned in New Haven a more united and prolonged resistance to the union.

A serious difficulty occurred in Guilford on the 30th of December, 1663. A violent and troublesome man, who had put himself under the protection of Connecticut, finding that he was likely to be called to a severe account, "went up to Connecticut and there obtained two of their magistrates, marshal, and sundry others to come down with him" for the purpose of enforcing the jurisdiction of Connecticut. These dignitaries "coming into the town at an unseasonable time of night, their party by shooting off sundry guns, caused the town to be alarmed unto great disturbance." Governor Leete sent away to Branford and New Haven for help, "which caused both those towns to be alarmed also to great disturbance the same night." Men were sent over from New Haven and Branford to maintain at any rate the authority of the colony. The gentlemen from Connecticut, finding their force inadequate, appear to have withdrawn, proposing that there should be another negotiation between the two colonies, "wherein they hoped matters might come to a more comfortable issue." On this occasion the General Court was convened on the 7th of January, 1664, "though the weather proved very unseasonable." Governor Leete having told the whole story, desired to know "whether the court would yield so far" as to suspend the

enforcing of their authority till after another negotiation. "But the court considering how fruitless all former treaties had been, and that they had formerly ordered that there should be no more treaty with them, unless they first restore us those members, which they had so unrighteously taken from us, therefore did now again confirm the same, and in the issue came to this conclusion, to desire Mr. Davenport and Mr. Street, to draw up in writing all our grievances, and then, with the approbation of as many of the committee as could come together, to send it to Connecticut unto their General Assembly,—which accordingly was done in March next." For that document, "with arguments annexed, and sundry testimonies both from Guilford and Stamford," the Secretary refers to a subsequent page, where he says they are recorded. The record, however, to which he refers, was never quite finished. The original, I am told, is not found among the archives of the State at Hartford.

"The writings sent to the General Assembly of Connecticut here followeth; and the first is called,

"*New Haven's case stated.*

"*Honored and beloved in the Lord,*—We, the General Court of New Haven colony, being sensible of the wrongs which this colony hath lately suffered by your unjust pretenses and encroachments upon our just and proper rights, have unanimously consented, though with grief of heart, being compelled thereunto, to declare unto you, and unto all whom the knowledge thereof may concern, what yourselves do or may know to be true as followeth.

"1. That the first beginners of these plantations by the sea-side in these western parts of New England, being engaged to sundry friends in London, and in other places about London (who purposed to plant, some with them in the same town, and others as near to them as they might) to provide for themselves some convenient places by the sea-side, arrived at Boston in the Massachusetts, (having a special right in their patent, two of them being joint purchasers of it with others, and one of them a patentee, and one of the assistants chosen for the New England company in London,) where they abode all the winter following; but not finding there a place suitable to their purpose, were persuaded to view these parts, which those that viewed approved; and before their removal, finding that no English were planted in any place from the fort (called Saybrook)

to the Dutch, proposed to purchase of the Indians, the natural proprietors of those lands, that whole tract of land by the sea-coast, for themselves and those that should come to them; which they also signified to their friends in Hartford in Connecticut colony, and desired that some fit men from thence might be employed in that business, at their proper cost and charges who wrote to them. Unto which letter having received a satisfactory answer, they acquainted the Court of magistrates of Massachusetts colony with their purpose to remove and the grounds of it, and with their consent began a plantation in a place situated by the sea, called by the Indians Quillipiack; which they did purchase of the Indians the true proprietors thereof, for themselves and their posterity; and have quietly possessed the same about six and twenty years; and have buried great estates in buildings, fencings, clearing the ground, and in all sorts of husbandry; without any help from Connecticut or dependence on them. And by voluntary consent among themselves, they settled a civil court and government among themselves, upon such fundamentals as were established in Massachusetts by allowance of their patent, whereof the then governor of the Bay, the Right Worshipful Mr. Winthrop, sent us a copy to improve for our best advantage. These fundamentals all the inhabitants of the said Quillipiack approved, and bound themselves to submit unto and maintain; and chose Theophilus Eaton, Esq. to be their governor, with as good right as Connecticut settled their government among themselves, and continued it above twenty years without any patent.*

"2. That when the help of Mr. Eaton our governor, and some others from Quillipiack, was desired for ending of a controversy at Wethersfield, a town in Connecticut colony, it being judged necessary for peace that one party should remove their dwellings, upon equal satisfying terms proposed, the Governor, magistrates, &c. of Connecticut offered for their part, that if the party that would remove should find a fit place to plant in upon the river, Connecticut would grant it to them; and the Governor of Quillipiack (now called New Haven) and the rest there present, joined with him, and promised that if they should find a fit place for themselves by the sea-side,

* Connecticut, in the year 1644, purchased of the Lords Say-and-Seal, Brook and others, their establishment at Saybrook and their patent under the earl of Warwick, the bounds of which were the same with the bounds afterwards given to the colony by the charter of 1662. See Trumbull, I, 27, 148. The patent proved to be of no value.

New Haven would grant it to them, which accordingly New Haven performed; and so the town of Stamford began, and became a member of New Haven colony, and so continueth unto this day. Thus in a public assembly in Connecticut, was the distinct right of Connecticut upon the river and of New Haven by the sea-side, declared, with the consent of the governor, magistrates, ministers and better sort of the people of Connecticut at the time.

"3. That sundry other townships by the sea-side and Southold on Long Island, (being settled in their inheritances by right of purchase of their Indian proprietors,) did voluntarily join themselves to New Haven, to be all under one jurisdiction, by a firm engagement to the fundamentals formerly settled in New Haven; whereupon it was called New Haven Colony. The General Court, being thus constituted, chose the said Theophilus Eaton, Esq., a man of singular wisdom, godliness and experience, to be the governor of New Haven Colony; and they chose a competent number of magistrates and other officers for the several towns. Mr. Eaton so well managed that great trust, that he was chosen governor every year while he lived. All this time Connecticut never questioned what was done at New Haven; nor pretended any right to it, or to any of the towns belonging to this colony; nor objected against our being a distinct colony.

"4. That when the Dutch claimed a right to New Haven, and all along the coast by the sea-side, it being reported they would set up the Prince of Orange's arms, the governor of New Haven, to prevent that, caused the king of England's arms to be fairly cut in wood, and set upon a post in the highway by the sea-side,* to vindicate the right of the English, without consulting Connecticut or seeking their concurrence therein.

"5. That in the year 1643, upon weighty considerations, an union of four distinct colonies was agreed upon by all New England, (except Rhode Island,) in their several general courts, and was established by a most solemn confederation; whereby they bound themselves mutually to preserve unto each colony its entire jurisdiction within itself, respectively, and to avoid the putting of two into one by any act of their own without consent of the commissioners from the four United Colonies, which were from that time, and still are,

* This was done in Feb. 1648, and the record of it is the only allusion to the king which I find before the restoration of the monarchy in 1660.

called and known by the title of *the four United Colonies of New England.* Of these colonies, New Haven was and is one. And in this solemn confederation Connecticut joined with the rest, and with us.

"6. That in the year 1644, the general court for New Haven colony, then sitting in the town of New Haven, agreed unanimously to send to England for a patent; and in the year 1645, committed the procuring of it to Mr. Grigson, one of our magistrates, who entered upon his voyage in January that year, from New Haven, furnished with some beaver in order thereunto as we suppose. But by the providence of God, the ship and all the passengers and goods were lost at sea, in their passage towards England, to our great [grief] and the frustration of the design for the time; after which the troubles in England put a stop to our proceedings therein. This was done with the consent and desire of Connecticut to concur with New Haven therein. Whereby the difference of times, and of men's spirits in them, may be discovered. For then the magistrates of Connecticut with consent of their general court, knowing our purposes, desired to join with New Haven in procuring the patent, for common privileges to both in their different jurisdictions, and left it to Mr. Eaton's wisdom to have the patent framed accordingly. But now they seek to procure a patent without the concurrence of New Haven; and contrary to our minds expressed before the patent was sent for, and to their own promise, and to the terms of the confederation, and without sufficient warrant from their patent, they have invaded our right, and seek to involve New Haven under Connecticut jurisdiction.

"7. That in the year 1646, when the commissioners first met at New Haven, Keift, the then Dutch governor, by letters expostulated with the commissioners, by what warrant they met at New Haven without his consent, seeing it and all the sea-coast belonged to his principals in Holland, and to the Lords the States General. The answer to that letter was framed by Mr. Eaton, governor of New Haven and then president of the commission, approved by all the commissioners, and sent in their names with their consent to the then Dutch governor, who never replied thereunto.

"8. That this colony in the reign of the late King Charles the first, received a letter from the committee of Lords and Commons for foreign plantations, then sitting at Westminster, which letter was delivered to our governor, Mr. Eaton, for freeing the several distinct

colonies of New England from molestations by the appealing of troublesome spirits unto England, whereby they declared that they had dismissed all causes depending before them from New England, and that they advised all inhabitants to submit to their respective governments there established, and to acquiesce when their causes shall be there heard and determined, as it is to be seen more largely expressed in the original letter which we have, subscribed, 'Your assured friends,

'PEMBROKE, 'MANCHESTER, 'WARWICK,
'W. SAY AND SEAL, 'FR. DACRE, &c. 'DENBIGH.'

"In this order they subscribed their names with their own hands, which we have to show, and they inscribed or directed this letter—'To our worthy friends the governor and assistants of the plantations of New Haven in New England.' Whereby you may clearly see that the right honorable, the Earl of Warwick, and the Lord Viscount Say and Seal, (lately one of his majesty King Charles the second's most honorable privy council, as also the right honorable Earl of Manchester still is,) had no purpose, after New Haven colony, situated by the sea-side, was settled to be a distinct government, that it should be put under the patent for Connecticut, whereof they had only framed a copy before any house was erected by the sea-side from the fort to the Dutch, which yet was not signed and sealed by the last king for a patent; nor had you any patent till your agent, Mr. Winthrop, procured it about two years since.

"9. That in the year 1650, when the commissioners for *the four united colonies of New England*, met at Hartford, the now Dutch governor being then and there present, Mr. Eaton the then governor of New Haven colony, complained of the Dutch governor's encroaching upon our colony of New Haven, by taking under his jurisdiction a township beyond Stamford, called Greenwich. All the commissioners, (as well for Connecticut as for the other colonies,) concluded that Greenwich and four miles beyond it belongs to New Haven jurisdiction; whereunto the Dutch governor then yielded, and restored it to New Haven colony. Thus were our bounds westward settled by consent of all.

"10. That when the honored governor of Connecticut, John Winthrop, Esq., had consented to undertake a voyage for England to procure a patent for Connecticut in the year 1661, a friend warned him by letter, not to have his hand in so unrighteous an act, as so far to extend the line of their patent, that the colony of New Haven

should be involved within it. For answer thereunto, he was pleased to certify that friend, in two letters which he wrote from two several places before his departure, that no such thing was intended, but rather the contrary; and that the magistrates had agreed and expressed in the presence of some ministers, that if their line should reach us, (which they knew not, the copy being in England,) yet New Haven colony should be at liberty to join with them or not. This agreement, so attested, made us secure, who also could have procured a patent for ourselves within our own known bounds according to purchase, without doing any wrong to Connecticut in their just bounds and limits.

"11. That notwithstanding all the premises, in the year 1662, when you had received your patent under his majesty's hand and seal, contrary to your promise and solemn confederation, and to common equity, at your first general assembly, (which yet could not be called general without us, if we were under your patent, seeing none of us were by you called thereunto,) you agreed among yourselves, to treat with New Haven colony about union, by your commissioners chosen for that end within two or three days after the assembly was dissolved. But before the ending of that session, you made an unrighteous breach in our colony, by taking under your patent some of ours from Stamford, and from Guilford, and from Southold, contrary to your engagements to New Haven colony, and without our consent or knowledge. This being thus done, some sent from you to treat with us, showed some of ours your patent; which being read, they declared to yours that New Haven colony is not at all mentioned in your patent, and gave you some reasons why they believed that the king did not intend to put this colony under Connecticut without our desire or knowledge; and they added that you took a preposterous course, in first dismembering this colony, and after that treating with it about union; which is as if one man proposing to treat with another about union, first cut off from him an arm, and a leg, and an ear, then to treat with him about union. Reverend Mr. Stone also, the teacher of the Church at Hartford, was one of the committee, who being asked what he thought of this action, answered, that he would not justify it.

"12. After that conference, our committee sent, by order of the General Court, by two of our magistrates, and two of our elders, a writing containing sundry other reasons for our not joining with you; who also, finding that you persisted in your own will and way, de-

clared to you our own resolution to appeal to his majesty to explain his true intendment and meaning in your patent, whether it was to subject this colony under it or not; being persuaded, as we still are, that it neither was nor is his royal will and pleasure to confound this colony with yours, which would destroy the so long continued and so strongly settled distinction of *the four United Colonies of New England*, without our desire or knowledge.

"13. That, accordingly, we forthwith sent our appeal to be humbly presented to his Majesty, by some friends in London, yet out of our dear and tender respect to Mr. Winthrop's peace and honor, some of us advised those friends to communicate our papers to Honored Mr. Winthrop himself, to the end that we might find out some effectual expedient, to put a good end to this uncomfortable difference between you and us,—else to present our humble address to his Majesty. Accordingly it was done; and Mr. Winthrop stopped the proceeding of our appeal, by undertaking to our friends that *

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[Here the hand of the Secretary rested; and before he found time to finish the transcript, the New Haven jurisdiction had ceased to be.]

## No. XI.

### LETTERS FROM JOHN DAVENPORT TO GOV. WINTHROP.

[The following letters are from the autographs in the possession of Francis B. Winthrop, Esq., of this city. They have never before been published; though they are occasionally referred to by Mr. Savage, who had access to them in preparing his invaluable edition of Winthrop's History.]

### I.

*Worthily honored Sir*,—Upon frequent reports of God's gracious blessing your labors with good success in sundry cases, I was desirous to have made a journey to Pequot to confer with you about the state of my body, and desired Brother Andrews to signify the same unto you, by whom I understand that there is no conveniency for mine, and my wife's, and my son's lodging, and other accommodations there, and that yourself are upon a journey shortly for the Bay. I have therefore hired this Indian to be the bearer of these lines, and pray you to return by him your advice, not concerning my distemper, which I cannot so fully declare by writing, to your satisfaction and my own, as is meet, but concerning my way. My wife inclineth to our traveling with you to Boston, if you judge that a place and time fit for me to enter into any course of physic; but I hear the apothecary wants supplies of things, unless Carwithy be come; and I hear that Mr. Ling, &c., newly returned from the Bay, saw a vessel at sea, about 200 tons, coming towards Boston, and I fear that your business there will not permit liberty for that, and that my body and the season will not suit it; yet if you advise it as convenient, I shall consider what you propound. If not, my desire is to know when you purpose to return if God please. I was glad when he told me that you had some purpose of coming into these parts; and shall be more glad if I may understand from yourself that you continue that resolution, and will be pleased to put it into execution at your return from the Bay, and to accept of my house for your entertainment during your abode in these parts, there to refresh yourself with assurance that you shall be most heartily welcome to us. If you require it, for the preparing of directions suitable to my case,

that I give you notice of it particularly beforehand, I shall by the next opportunity, answer your desires, upon notice when my letter may probably find you at home; or if you encourage me to come to Pequot after your return, we shall attend you there. But if you can afford me some liberty of discourse with you here, before you journey to the Bay, I think that would be best; and I should be very much obliged unto you for that your labor of love. However, let me receive such answer as you can, by this bearer. Present my true respects to Mrs. Winthrop, with loving salutations to Mr. Blinman. The Lord Jesus dwell with you in peace! In whom I rest.

Sir, yours assured,

JOHN DAVENPORT.

New Haven, this 20th d. of the 6th m. 1653. [Aug. 20th, 1653.]

*To his honored friend,* JOHN WINTHROP, Esq., *these present in* PEQUOT.

II.

*Hond. Sir,*—Your welcome lines dated Jan. 16, I received by this Indian, and read with gladness, giving thanks to God and you; —to God for your health, and the health of your family and town;— to you for your loving remembrance of me and mine, and for your mindfulness to prepare for us against the fit season, as also for my brother Hooke, who returneth by my pen hearty thanks for your respects towards him, which I signified unto him. The winter hath been extraordinarily long, and sharp, and sickly among us. Sundry have been afflicted with pain in their head and sides, and stoppings at their breasts; some were taken with great cold and shivering, others with sweating, but most with inward cold. Some are taken away by death, viz. four of this Church, and some of the town, besides children; but most are restored to health again, though slowly. Your presence with us this winter might have been by the providence of God, a great blessing to the whole town. I hope the season will shortly be altered; and then I desire that we may proceed unto further use of means, for the perfecting of what remains to be attended in order to my health by the blessing of God, whereby I found some good as I apprehend, in the strengthening of my spirits for performance of my ministerial work this winter, with some abatement of one cause of my weakness, whereof I gave you notice, though it still abideth with me in some degree. My family hath been kept from the common sickness in this town, by the goodness and mercy of

God, this winter; only Edmund, my man-servant, hath been exercised with it near unto death, but he is now, through the mercy of God, in an hopeful way of recovery. I have received some letters from England in Trumboll's vessel, whereby I perceive that things are there in a doubtful state; and because I should be too tedious if I should relate particulars, I send you by this bearer, such books of intelligence as were sent me,—and in the same you will find enclosed some notes of the cases of some among us who desire to improve this opportunity to crave your advice and help. It is a singular fruit of God's favor to you, that he is pleased to make you his instrument in doing good to many. Yet I would not that your family should be endamaged thereby, which cannot be without guilt of unthankfulness in them who return not according to the benefit received. The fleet is gone from England for Hispaniola. Mr. Winslow is one of the council, not governor for aught I can learn. The small pox hath been the death of many in England, and the spotted fever. Capt. Astwood of Milford, is there dead, having first taken a great cold after his arrival, whereupon he was smitten with a dead palsy on one side, of which he died. I hope we shall enjoy your much desired company, with Mrs. Winthrop, at our house, sometime this month, where you may be assured of hearty welcome as the best part of your entertainment. The Lord Jesus dwell with you in peace and loving kindness; to whose grace I commend you and yours, affectionately, with respective salutations of yourself and Mrs. Winthrop, and Mrs. Lake, in both our names. I rest in him,

Yours obliged,

JOHN DAVENPORT.

Mrs. Disborough and Goodman Jones of Guilford, died of the small pox, in England or Scotland. Mrs. Bressey, [Bracie] a member of this Church, hath buried three children in a month, of the small pox, in England; yet it is thought by some that the third child died of the plague, as Mrs. Evance informeth me; but Mrs. Bressey in her letter to me saith they all died of the small pox. I find myself somewhat weaker in my spirits, and in my back, since our last Fast, which was ten days ago.

*To his honored friend,* JOHN WINTHROP, Esq., *these present at* PEQUOT.*

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* No date is given to this letter. From the contents, however, it appears to have been written at the close of the winter of 1654–5,—ten days after

III.

*Honored Sir*,—It troubled me not a little that the want of a pillion to carry my wife, and of horses to bring us back from Brother Moulthrop's, and some business to be attended by appointment at three o'clock that afternoon in the town, compelled us to part with you at the water-side, whom we purposed to accompany unto his farm. But I hope the Lord brought you safe and well to your family, and there comforted you with the effects of his good providence towards yours in their welfare. Mr. Samuel Eaton and his wife returned lately from Hartford where they were both ill. They say it's thought that air is infected at present. Sundry have been exercised with a distemper like to that which prevailed here the last winter; but they are in a hopeful way of recovery; and Capt. Conant is better. They have put such household stuff as they shall have use of, into a vessel bound hitherward, purposing to keep house here. The three weeks, during which you purposed to be absent from us, are now expired; therefore here is now a general expectation of your return. For which cause, Brother Moulthrop is sent to wait upon you, or to know the precise time thereof, that horses may be seasonably sent to meet you at the river's mouth, (so many as may suit your family,) and that something may be done towards the fitting of your house for their entertainment. My earnest and hearty desire is, that you would be pleased to accept this town's offer, and to settle your habitation among us, though you should dwell here but some part of the year, and another part at Pequot or wheresoever else your occasions may invite you to be. My wife joineth with me in that request, and in presenting respective and affectionate salutations to yourself, with Mrs. Winthrop and Mrs. Lake; and she prayeth you to be assured that any thing we have shall be at your service. Sister Glover, newly returned from Long Island, puts us in fear that you are in some thoughts about transporting your family to the Bay or to Connecticut; but I cannot believe either, though I believe you may be inclined to both. I hope that this messenger will put a period to

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the fast. At a General Court convened that winter, on the 30th of January, "the court considering the sad state of things in old England, our native country, as appears by what intelligence they have received from thence since they came together, thought it their duty to set a day apart in the whole jurisdiction, for humiliation and solemn seeking of God," &c., "which will be on the last day of February next." Ten days after that fast, would make the date of the letter 10, 1, 1654, [10 March, 1655.]

all such intimations, either by your personal return with him hither, or by some letter from you signifying the determined time when we may expect you. For you freely promised to stay with us at least a month or six weeks this spring, for the carrying on further what you have begun in my case and Mrs. Hopkins's, &c. Then we shall have opportunity of conferring *de futuris*. In the mean time, and ever, the good Lord recompense all your labor of love an hundred fold unto you and your family, and make your journey to us speedy and prosperous; in whom I rest,

Your obliged and thankful friend and servant, in any office of love,

JOHN DAVENPORT.

New Haven, this 14th day of the 2d m. 1655 [Apr. 14, 1655.]

Mr. Pell, they say, reports at Milford that the Dutch governor *is* slain by Spaniards; *sed ubi, quomodo, quando, quare, nondum constat.*

POSTSCRIPT.—Upon a confident report that you was gone to the Bay, Bro. Moulthrop staid; and so my letter, though sealed, was not sent yesterday. Another report said that a pinnace was sent from the Bay to fetch you; but you could not go, being hindered by sickness. This report excited me to speak with our governor that one might be sent speedily; and I hope Bro. Moulthrop will not be prevented to be our messenger. Also it occasioned my opening of my letter again, and adding this postscript, to certify you that I both pray and long to hear of your recovery, and have good hopes through the mercy of God in Christ Jesus, that you shall live to do him much more service in the land of the living. Only let us know how it is with you speedily, and when we shall expect you, and what you will have done about the house and lot; and be assured that you are in our hearts, and in my prayers that your soul may be bound up in the bundle of life with the Lord our God, in Jesus Christ, your Lord and ours, in whom I rest.

This 19th d. of the 2d m. 1655.

*To the right worshipful, his worthily honored friend,* JOHN WINTHROP, Esq., *these present in* PEQUOT.

## IV.

*Sir,*—Joseph Alsop being now returned from the Bay, we have taken the first opportunity of sending him with his vessel, to accommodate your much desired transportation, with your family, unto us. Be pleased to accept this as a testimony of the reality and fervency of our desire to enjoy your much longed for and worthily much es-

teemed presence with us, and to favor us with a suitable answer, in assurance that none can be more welcome here than you and yours, nor can you and they be more welcome to any than to us. Sir, I have received from England almost all the particulars you appointed me to write for, which I desire you may see and dispose of as you shall find best. Salute Mrs. Winthrop and Mrs. Lake affectionately in both our names. My son presents his humble service to you. The good Lord recompense all your labors of love towards me an hundred fold, and make your passage safe and speedy, and comfortable; in whom I rest,

Sir, yours to honor and serve you in the Lord,

JOHN DAVENPORT.

New Haven, the 6th d. of the 5th m. [July,] 1655.

My wife hath not been well, but weak and feeble spirited this week.

*To the right worshipful, his much honored friend,* JOHN WINTHROP, Esq., *these present in* PEQUOT.

V.

*Honored Sir,*—By Joseph Alsop we did expect your arrival with your family here, and your abode with us this winter. But instead of yourself I received your lines, whereby I understand that your real purpose of transporting your family, was, contrary to your expectation, utterly disappointed. If you knew how much our hopes of enjoying you with us comforted us, you would easily apprehend how much the frustration of them damped us. And if Mrs. Winthrop knew how welcome she would be unto us, she would neglect whatsoever others may suggest to discourage her from coming to us. And because I understood by Joseph Alsop how boisterously some of your plantation opposed your voyage, with your family, to us ward, and intimated that the vessel was rotten and your lives would be endangered by the voyage, I signified in a letter which I sent to you by Higby, that on the Lord's day after his departure from Pequot, which was the next day after the date of your letter to me, as I remember, Joseph Alsop gave public thanks in the congregation for his safe and comfortable passage. And that you might know what preparation was made for your comfortable being in your house this winter, I showed in the same letter how careful and active my wife hath been to procure hands to prepare your house, whereby your well is cleansed, and a new pump set up, and the rooms are made warm, and

tables, with some chairs, are provided. The twenty loads of wood you mentioned are ready, and some already laid in. The rest wait but for your coming. Also thirty bushels of wheat, and fifty pounds of candles; which together with other things, I signified that you may see, and Mrs. Winthrop also, how earnestly your coming to us is expected and desired. You will now receive some farther intelligence from Mr. Goodyear, concerning the iron-work, unto which there is a great forwardness among the people generally, which it seems is somewhat checked by your absence at this time. Sir, I thank you for the books you sent me to read, which I am diligently perusing. My wife took care of your apples that they may be kept safe from the frost, that Mrs. Winthrop might have the benefit of them. Now the Lord pave your way to us, and make your journey safe, comfortable and prosperous; in whom I rest,

Yours, exceedingly obliged,

JOHN DAVENPORT.

New Haven, the last of the 9th, '55, [30th Nov. 1655.]

Sir, I forgat to give you notice, that my wife hath provided for Mrs. Winthrop a cleanly, thrifty maid servant, sister Beckley's daughter, whom she kept from a service at Connecticut, where she was much desired, in expectation of your coming.

*To his worthily much honored friend,* JOHN WINTHROP, Esq., *these present in* PEQUOT.

## VI.

*Honored Sir,*—A report that you was gone to the Bay, put me from my purpose of sending the enclosed, till I might certainly know where my letter might find you. I have now received intelligence by John Thomas, that you are at Hartford, and that Mrs. Winthrop hath been very ill and in great danger of her life, but is now, by the mercy of God, recovered. Blessed be his name for this mercy to her and to yourself and yours, in her recovery. But withal he saith that yourself are very ill, and have taken physic this day, and that he staid three hours to understand how it wrought, and is informed that it wrought well. This giveth us some ground of hope that God will graciously bless the means for restoring your health, whose life we account exceeding precious, and a blessing to many. He who hath given you a merciful heart to others in their sickness, hath promised that you also shall obtain mercy. We are not wanting to you in our prayers, since we heard of your state, which was but this night; nor

shall we cease from praying for your life and health, till we know that our petition is answered for your good. Be pleased to let us hear from you by the first opportunity, how it is with you. My wife desireth to send something suitable to your present condition, but knoweth not what till she hear further concerning you. At present she sends you a few fresh raisins, and a little liquorice, and your own unicorn's horn, which she hath kept safe for you, since you sent it for Mrs. Eaton. My wife is ashamed to send so few raisins, but she hath no more so good. Were it not I am loth to trouble you with many lines, I should write much more concerning other matters, and particularly to return thanks for your mindfulness of me for a vent for some of my horses, by Mr. Adis, concerning which I hope to have an opportunity of speaking with you ere long. The Lord Jesus be with you, and bless means for your recovery. With presenting my service and my wife's and son's to Mrs. Winthrop and yourself, and our love to yours, I rest, sir,

Your much obliged,

JOHN DAVENPORT.

New Haven, the 20th d. of the 5th m. [July,] 1658.

*To the right worshipful* JOHN WINTHROP, Esq., *these present in* HARTFORD.

## VII.

*Honored Sir*,—We have, with longing desires, long expected your return with your family to your own habitation at New Haven, as accounting your dwelling among us a special favor from God, and a common good to all the people, especially in this sickly time, when many are afflictively exercised with gripings, vomitings, fluxes, agues and fevers, though more moderately in this town by the mercy of God, than at Norwalk and Fairfield. Young Mr. Allerton, who lately came from the Dutch, saith they are much more sorely visited there than these parts are. It is said that at Mashpeag, the inhabitants are generally so ill that they are likely to lose their harvest through want of ability to reap it. Mr. Harbert, of Southold, is so ill at Manhadoes that there is little if any hope of his life. Brother Alsop is come from the Dutch with a purpose to have gone to the Bay before this time; but the afflicting hand of the Lord hath stayed him by great illness, accompanied with a giddiness in his head, and much sleepiness and burning. It comes by fits, every other day. My wife giveth him this day a portion of your powder, whereof the supply that

you left in her hand is spent. The extremities of the people have caused her to part with what she reserved for our own family, if need should require. It hath pleased the Lord to preserve us hitherto. Yet my wife hath been, divers times this summer, and still is, valetudinarious, faint, thirsty, of little appetite, and indisposed sundry times, yet goes about, and is, between times, better and cheerful. * * Edmund is not well, yet goes about. The good Lord prepare us for all changes; that under all changes of providences, we may have suitable changes of spirit, to honor, serve, and please God therein! Amen.

Sir, I will not hide from you what is here reported; though I cannot easily believe it, because I received no such intelligence at any time from yourself. Timothy Nash saith he cannot understand from yourself, or from Mr. Winthrop, or from the people at Hartford, that you have any purpose of ever returning hither to dwell here. And Nath. Kimberly saith from your own words, that you thought to have come to New Haven, but now you think you shall not see us this year. If it be so, we have cause to be sensible of a great loss to us, who have long comforted ourselves in hopes of enjoying you in a way of dwelling here, not only for the good that many may receive by God's blessing upon your endeavors for their health, but for your company, which for itself is precious and contentful unto us. If you would please to stock your farm, and to give order to have your land at New Haven improved, you might live comfortably upon that which is your own, in this place. The people here also would be ready to serve you with their labors, and to take hold of all good occasions of declaring their thankfulness, really, as they are bound to do, for your large and liberal helpfulness to them,—in distributing whereof my wife is but your hand, who neither receiveth nor expecteth any recompense for that, but desireth that all acknowledgments and retributions may be returned to yourself.

Sir, it pleased you when I was exercised with that swimming dizziness, to send me a paper, Feb. 20, '57, containing in it certain portions of powder, which I never opened till this day, because it pleased God to release me from that distemper without it. And in perusing the letter you then sent, I find it commended as also useful for my other distemper in regard of the magisterium of corals which is in it. Hereupon I desire to know whether you will advise me to make use of it for that, though the dizziness, through God's mercy, hath not troubled me, since the spring began, unto this day. Ed-

ward Preston came lately from Long Island, and saith many Indians there are very sick, and twelve were dead before his coming thence. My wife and son join with me in presenting our service to yourself and Mrs. Winthrop, and our loving salutations to your children. The Lord Jesus dwell with you in peace and loving kindness! In whom I rest, Sir,

Your exceedingly obliged,

JOHN DAVENPORT.

New Haven, the 4th d. of the 6th m. '58. [4th Aug. 1658.]

Sir, my wife desires a word or two of advice from you, what is best to be done for those gripings, and agues and fevers; but she is loath to be too troublesome; yet as the cases are weighty, she desires to go upon the surest ground, and to take the safest courses, and knoweth none whose judgment she can so rest in as in yours.

*To the right worshipful* JOHN WINTHROP, Esq., *these present in* HARTFORD.

VIII.

*Honored Sir,*—These few lines are to congratulate your return to your family, as I hope in health, and to give you an account of my negotiation with ours about the iron-work, the issue whereof is according to your mind, as the enclosed to Capt. Clarke from our governor will show, which I send enclosed that it may more speedily be conveyed to him by land, than we can expect it will be by sea. The Lord also bless the intended marriage of your eldest daughter to Mr. Newman for many comforts to you both, and to your family, and to themselves! Be pleased to present mine, my wife's, my son's, humble service to Mrs. Winthrop, together with yourself, with many thanks to her for her great kindnesses to us when we were at Hartford. In great haste, I must *manum de tabulâ*. The Lord Jesus dwell with you and yours in peace and loving kindness! In whom I rest, Yours obliged,

JOHN DAVENPORT.

New Haven, the 22d of the 8th, '58. [22d Oct. 1658.]

*To the right worshipful, his much honored friend,* JOHN WINTHROP, Esq., *these present in* HARTFORD.

IX.

*Honored Sir,*—Though I have, together with the rest entrusted by you, subscribed our common letter, yet I shall add a few lines, as

mine own letter to yourself, to whom I am so particularly obliged, that I cannot omit to present my respectful salutations to yourself and Mrs. Winthrop, with many thanks for the intelligences I have received from you in several letters, and for the powders you sent to my wife, and for the Almanack, which I had not seen before, though since my receipt of yours, the president of the college sent me one. The author of it is wholly unknown to me, save by his name in the title page. In the next page, speaking of four eclipses this year, he may seem to some willing to be accounted *sapientum octavus, utpote qui terram planetarum octavam animo suo fingit, contra communem astronomorum sententiam.* For he saith, "Twice shall this planet whereon we live, and its concomitant, the moon, widow each other of their sun-derived luster." Now the place whereon we live is the earth,—the place, I say, not the planet. But he is not willing *solus sapere.* Therefore for his four propositions he produceth in his last page sundry authors, who, he saith, have answered the objections from Scripture against this opinion. I have not read their answers. But if it be the brief or sum of them which he notes, it will not be found, upon an exact search, to be satisfying. However it be, let him enjoy his opinion; and I shall rest in what I have learned, till more cogent arguments be produced than I have hitherto met with.

Sir, your notion about letting your house to N. K. &c., came to me wholly beyond my expectation. I did indeed expect (according to your promise, as I understood it) to hear from you, upon your return from the Bay, the result of your thoughts and purposes, and your resolution, whether to return to inhabit it with your family, and when,—or to sell it to the town; who bought it that they might freely give it to yourself or put it into your power as your own upon what terms you propounded, (seeing you would not accept it upon free gift, because you would preserve your liberty to dwell in it as your occasions would permit.) But what they then did, and others stirred them up unto, I assure you was in respect to the common good which was hoped for and expected by all, from yourself dwelling among us with your family. Nor would they have taken such pay for it from any man in the country but yourself,* which I note that you may see their love to you, and desire of enjoying you among us. There are few houses vacant in the town, that are so fit as that for the entertainment of persons of public usefulness. Such men the town wants.

* For an explanation of this allusion, see p. 326.

If yourself and yours dwell in it, it will satisfy all; none will desire any other, and myself and mine will most rejoice therein. But if your other occasions will not permit that, this way of letting it unto such men will not be for your profit, nor for the town's satisfaction. Your house and lot hath suffered much hurt already, and will more, in this way; and this town will lose their end, for they would never have let it pass out of their hands but in hope of enjoying yourself, which if they cannot obtain, I perceive it will in the next place, best satisfy them if you please to give them leave to buy it of you. I thought it my duty to signify thus much to yourself; and shall add only this to prevent misinterpretations, that as your house is your own, so all do grant that it is in your own power to do with it as you please. If you please to let it to N. K. &c. you may, only you may be pleased to remind that this is not that use of the house which will answer the townsmen's ends, and the town's expectation and necessities. With mine, my wife's, and my son's respectful and affectionate salutations and service, presented to yourself, and Mrs. Winthrop, and your branches, I rest, Sir,

Yours, obliged,

JOHN DAVENPORT.

New Haven, the 18th d. of the 1st m. 1658-9. [18 Mar. 1659.]

*To his honored friend,* JOHN WINTHROP, Esq., *these present in* HARTFORD.

X.

*Honored Sir,*—I received yours, both of the 24th of the 1st m. called March, and of the 8th of the 2d, called April, and have communicated them both with the honored governor, &c., entrusted by you, and with the townsmen. All consent for returning many thanks to you for your love to us all, and to the town, so fully expressed therein, especially by your declaration of your unwillingness, yea, very unwillingness, to be separated from us, who have much more cause, and are really as unwilling to be deprived of your much desired residence among us with your family, at least sometimes as your occasions will permit, according to that liberty you was pleased to reserve unto yourself when you bought the house. The conclusion of our last conference was, that matters should stand in the state they are in, all resolution about disposing of the house should be suspended, till we might speak with yourself, which I am told, will be shortly. The sooner the better; for we long to see you, and

to speak with you mouth to mouth; and some say that your house and orchard have suffered much by your so long absence. We hear that N. K. doth improve some of your land already; so that there will be no inconvenience to yourself by this delay. We shall be glad if it may produce in yourself and Mrs. Winthrop, a resolution to possess and enjoy it yourselves, that so we may enjoy you. But of these things we shall speak more when we meet. In the mean time, and ever, the Lord Jesus delight over you and yours, to do you good! In whom I rest, Sir,

Your much obliged,

JOHN DAVENPORT.

Myself, wife, and son, present our humble services, with most affectionate salutations to yourself, Mrs. Winthrop, and your children.

New Haven, the 15th day of the 2d m., 1659.

*To the right worshipful and much honored*, JOHN WINTHROP, Esq., *these present in* HARTFORD.

## XI.

*Honored Sir,*—Your quick departure from Hartford, after my son's return home from thence, denied me an opportunity of expressing our due thanks for your loving entertainment of so bold a visiter, whereof he speaketh much, and yet is not satisfied with what he hath spoken, thinking it falls short of what he should speak, to express your and Mrs. Winthrop's kindness to him. Sir, you know that the affections of parents are apt to sympathize with their children, and to take contentment in what they find to be justly pleasing and comfortable to them. Hence it is that I desire to take this first overture for conveyance of these few lines in way of thankfulness from us, both to yourself (as I have already done to Mrs. Winthrop, by J. Latimer) for the same; and to let you know that I have received a large letter from Mr. Blinman, dated Aug. 22, whereby I understand that God hath brought him to Newfoundland, in safety and health, and maketh his ministry acceptable to all the people there except some Quakers, and much desired and flocked unto. He hath made choice of a ship for Barnstable to his content, the master being godly. After these passages, and his notifying to me the lady Kirk's respectful and loving mention of me, whom, she saith, she hath heard in London, he addeth to what I had heard from England, that a fine of 5*l.* is put upon any that shall name the last protector. 2. That

the Lord Henry is sent for out of Ireland, and out of his place. 3. That four are sent from England, and four from France, and four from the States, to see whether they can compose matters between Swede and Dane. 4. That 30,000*l.* is demanded for the old protector's funeral, which the parliament refused to pay. Some urged that those that had the mourning clothes should pay for them, that the commons might not be charged. 5. That the last protector was like to be apprehended for the debt, but withdrew; whereupon the parliament gave him six month's liberty to come to terms with creditors. 6. That Mr. Hugh Peters is distracted, and under sore horrors of conscience, crying out of himself as damned, and confessing heinous actings. He concludes, "For the truth hereof, *sit fides penes auctorem.*" 7. That there is an ambassador gone for Spain. Lastly, That the fleet in the West Indies have taken an almost incredible mass of treasure in some Spanish towns there. Reported by a ship in the harbor where Mr. Blinman lies, that met a frigate at sea, going home for. I shall not add at present, but my desires for your safe journey to the Bay and speedy return to your family, and then to New Haven,—and my wife's, with our son's respectful and most affectionate salutations and humble service.

Yours, exceedingly obliged,

JOHN DAVENPORT.

New Haven, the 28th d. of the 7th m. [28th Sept.] 1659.

*To the honored* JOHN WINTHROP, Esq., *governor of Connecticut colony, these present in* NEW LONDON.

## XII.

*Honored Sir,*—John Palmer is not yet gone, whereby I have liberty to add a postscript to my former letter upon new intelligence from Nichols of Boston, from Virginia, which I received after the enclosed was sealed. He saith that he came from Virginia the 23d of January, that there were 70* ships from England, which raiseth the price of tobacco to 12*d.* per pound; that a few days before he came thence, there arrived some ships from England which came from thence six weeks before, that is, in the beginning of December. These ships bring word that the parliament was then sitting, and

* The MS. being torn in this place, I will not be responsible for the correctness of this incredible reading, though I can make nothing else of it.

matters in Scotland were in peace. There is some confirmation of the report of the lord Lambert's going forth with 20,000, to meet General Monk, from Scotland, with 20,000. The story runs thus in Sir Henry Moody's report, sent in his letter from Virginia to an Englishman, a captain, at Manhadoes. The Presbyterians, in Scotland and England, flock much to General Monk, who now engageth himself for them and their interest, and is come forth upon that account with the forenoted army as far as Worcester, whither General Lambert is gone with his army, to stop his proceedings. General Montague, it is said, is come to London, and complieth well with the parliament. Farewell.

This afternoon the captain hath been with the governor, to excuse his not appearing at the court of magistrates, by his former illness in body, having a looseness and vomiting blood; and his not sending his attorney, by his want of one. His surgeon would not. Philip Scot would not. But he conceals that he who took the prize was in his ship, who was most fit to have been sent to the court; and forgets to excuse his refusal to yield to a sequestration of Mr. Raymond's goods till the cause were tried, though the governor sent the marshal to him with a warrant, for that end, and sundry other things. The governor is almost overcome with his fair words. But he speaks not a word of submitting his cause to their trial, yet seems willing to leave Mr. Raymond's vessel and goods in the court's hands, for part of security, and to bind his twelfth part in the ship for the other part of security, (which is as none, because it is not standing security,) that he will have it tried in England within twelve months, if Mr. Raymond will be bound and give security to prosecute against him. What the issue will be, a little time will shew. In the mean time, his spirit is somewhat lower in show than it was.* Again, farewell.

The 22d d. of the 12th m. '59. [22 Feb. 1660.]

*To the right worshipful* JOHN WINTHROP, Esq., *governor of Connecticut, these present in* HARTFORD.

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* The story of Capt. John Penny and the Roebuck, and his seizing the Black Eagle, a vessel belonging to Mr. Richard Raymond of Salem, and the trial of the question before the court of magistrates; and how Capt. Penny was compelled to make proper acknowledgments for "the affronts he had offered the government here,"—may be seen at large in the colony records.

## XIII.

*Honored Sir*,—Yesterday, Mr. Gilbert and Deacon Myles brought unto me a letter written by yourself to sergeant Whitehead, about your house, which, it seems, was an answer to a letter sent by I know not whom, nor when, to yourself, in the name of the townsmen, and with their consent, that they might purchase the house for the town. From Brother Herriman's discourse with my wife, I understand that himself and Brother Wakeman had speech with you, to promove that motion. All this was done and written without my knowledge and my wife's and son's. They did not, nor any from or for them, make it known unto me in the least, that such a letter or message should be sent unto you. Two of the brethren who were not townsmen, spake with me formerly about their fear of losing the governor for want of an house, and propounded yours, concluding from your own words that you would not dwell here, though if there had been any ground of hope of the contrary, they would not have propounded it. This I add, that I may do them right. My advice was, that they would not send to you about it; and to stay them from so doing, I told them that I heard you purposed to come hither shortly, (for so Daniel your man had reported,) and did think that they would wait for that. These things I thus particularly relate, that you may see that I had not the least hand in what they have done, nor consent to it, nor knowledge of it. When the forenamed showed me your letter, and enquired what I would do in reference to the power and trust you was pleased to commit to me about alienating your house, I told them, as I had said unto yourself before, that I must desire to be excused from acting in that business, and did refuse it, and do still pray you to wave me in that employment, who shall in other things deny you nothing that I am fit to do, if I may really pleasure you thereby. My son also hath refused to act in that matter. Had a letter been brought to us to subscribe, for inviting you to bring your family when you shall find a convenient time, and to come and dwell in your house, and the sooner the welcomer, &c., we should have signed that with both our hands. What is done I have not yet heard, therefore cannot give you account of it.

While I paused a little, having written thus far, I hear that the two mentioned in the first line have alienated your house. If it be so, I am heartily sorry, that what we have so many years desired and

hoped for, we shall be thus deprived of, viz. your neighborhood, which we do highly value, and therefore cannot but look upon our loss as exceeding great. My wife received Mrs. Winthrop's loving token, the sugar loaf she was pleased to send her, for which she returneth her many thanks, yet is sorry to have it from her, to whom she accounteth herself obliged otherwise rather to send unto her. With mine, my wife's and son's humble services to you both, and respectful and affectionate salutations to your daughters, commending you both, and yours, unto the everlasting arms, I rest, Sir,

Yours, exceedingly obliged,

JOHN DAVENPORT.

The 5th d. of the 2d. m. [April,] 1660.

We desire to receive some intelligence of your and Mrs. Winthrop's coming to us, whose house shall be as your own; and you will much cheer us if you say we shall enjoy you here shortly.

*To the right worshipful* JOHN WINTHROP, Esq., *Governor of Connecticut colony, these present in* HARTFORD.

## XIV.

*Honored Sir,*—I received yours by Brother Benham, whom God preserved from being drowned in his journey homeward. The river by Mr. Yale's farm was swollen high; his wife was fearful of riding through it. God provided an help for her at the instant, by a passenger who traveled from Windsor to Branford to Mr. Crane's, whose daughter he had married. He helped Sister Benham over a tree. But her husband adventuring to ride through, a foot of his horse slipped; so he fell into the water, and his horse, as he thinketh, fell upon him or struck him with his foot, for he had a blow on his head. But through the mercy of God he is now well. This day, Mr. Atwater, being at our lecture, speaks of a letter newly received from his wife, who writes her fears that she shall never see him again, doubting that he was cast away the last storm, whereby, she saith, sundry vessels about Boston have suffered much hurt, and some persons were cast away, and a ship also, if I mistake not, at Cape Cod. But God ordered things so, by his good providence, that Mr. Atwater was then at New London in a safe harbor. Even now, Major Hawthorne and Mr. Richards are come from the Dutch. They are gone into the town to despatch some business, but will return to sup and lodge at my house. I do not yet know whether they purpose to return to Boston by land or sea, yet prepare

these lines, *in omnem eventum*, to send by them if they go by land, or by some other conveyance if I can hear of any.

Sir, I thank you for my sight of Mr. Knowles' letter to Mr. Joanes. That which he speaks of a parliament in Scotland, I cannot receive. For I suppose England will not suffer it. I still hope that things in England are in an hopeful way. The Lord Jesus dwell with you in peace! Mine, my wife's and son's humble services are affectionately presented to yourself and Mrs. Winthrop, with our salutations to your daughters. Having other letters to write, in answer to friends in the Bay, I am compelled to take off my pen, but shall always remain, Sir,

Your exceedingly obliged,

JOHN DAVENPORT.

New Haven, the 13th of the 2d, [April,] 1660.

Mr. Price, of Salem, and his wife, present their services to yourself and Mrs. Winthrop, in a letter brought to me by Major Hawthorne. They are importunately desirous to stay Mr. Higginson with them at Salem, for continuance, and in way of office.

[Superscription torn off.]

## XV.

*Honored Sir*,—This is the first opportunity presented to me of returning an answer to the two last letters I received from you. Brother Benham indeed (whose good and sweet-spirited wife the Lord hath taken from him since his return,—and a young child of one of his sons is since dead in his house, where also one of his son's wife lieth very weak) went to Hartford, but gave no notice of it beforehand that I might prepare a letter for him. Brother Myles, at his return from the Bay, comforted me with hope of your recovering strength. For he told us that you looked better when he returned, than you did when he went to the Bay. Our desire is fervent to see you and Mrs. Winthrop here, by the will of God, as soon as may be. I hope the change of air would hasten your recovery, aad the perfecting of your strength, by the blessing of God. For we are by the sea-side, and my house shall be as your own for your use. And to us it will be a singular refreshment and contentment to enjoy your presence and abode with us, as long as your occasions will permit. Be pleased to accept this serious and hearty invitation, and to answer it really, in coming to us and staying with us, that you may be refreshed with the sea-air, and we with your sweet and much de-

sired fellowship. If you fear that you shall burthen us, be assured of the contrary, that we shall look upon it as a real testimony of your love and confidence in us, and in our love which is unfeigned towards both you and all yours, and as a most acceptable gratification of our earnest desire to enjoy you with us as long as we may. Myself, wife, and son, had been with you before this time, if I durst have ventured upon such a journey, which yet I should have done, though with some hazard, if my coming might have been of any necessary beneficial use to you. One day in the spring, I rode forth with our governor, to stir my body, and take the air, but when I returned home, though we had been out but an hour or two, [a detailed account of symptoms, in the course of which the writer says, "hot weather weakens and almost prostrates my spirits when it is extreme" —is omitted.]

Sir, I humbly thank you for the intelligences I received in your letters, and for the two weekly intelligences which Brother Myles brought me, I think, from yourself, and which I return enclosed, by this bearer with many thanks. I did hope that we might have received our letters by Capt. Pierce before this time. But we have no news lately from the Bay. Brother Rutherford and Brother Alsop are both there; so also is our teacher, Mr. Street. The two former I hope will return sometime the next week. Then probably we shall have some further news. The Lord fit us to receive it as we ought whatever it may be. Sir, I long to hear of your perfect recovery of health and strength, and to understand from you, that your purpose is to be with us shortly, and when we may expect your coming to us with Mrs. Winthrop, &c. In the mean time, and ever, the Lord Jesus dwell with you in mercy, and peace, and loving-kindness; in whom I rest, Sir,

Yours, exceedingly obliged,

JOHN DAVENPORT.

New Haven, the 20th d. of the 5th m. [July,] 1660.*

*To the right worshipful* JOHN WINTHROP, Esq., *governor of Connecticut colony, these present in* HARTFORD.

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* "On the 27th of July, [1660,] Capt. Pierce, a noted shipmaster in the trade between England and the colony, [of Massachusetts,] arrived and brought the news of the king's being proclaimed." Hutch. I, 210. Whalley and Goffe, the fugitive judges, arrived at Boston in Capt. Pierce's vessel. Well might Davenport say in reference to the news which that ship might bring, "The Lord prepare us to receive it as we ought, whatever it may be."

## XVI.

*Honored Sir*,—I perceive you have received from others the sad intelligence of the decease of our honored governor, my very dear and precious friend.* We hoped that he was in a good way of recovery from his former sickness, and were comforted with his presence in the assembly two Lord's days, and at one meeting of the Church on a week day, without any sensible inconvenience. And on the morning of the day of public thanksgiving, he found himself encouraged to come to the public assembly. But after the morning sermon, he told me that he found himself exceedingly cold from head to toe, yet, having dined, he was refreshed, and came to the meeting again in the afternoon, the day continuing very cold. That night he was very ill; yet he did not complain of any relapse into his former disease, but of inward cold, which he and we hoped might be removed by his keeping warm and using other suitable means. I believe he did not think that the time of his departure was so near, or that he should die of this distemper, though he was always prepared for his great change. The last day of the week he desired my son to come to him the next morning to write a bill for him to be prayed for, according to his direction. My son went to him after the beating of the first drum; but finding himself not fit to speak much, he prayed him to write for him what he thought fit. When the second drum beat, I was sent for to him. But before I came, though I made haste, his precious immortal soul was departed from its house of clay unto the souls of just men made perfect. We were not worthy of him, a true Nathaniel, an Israelite indeed who served God in Christ, in sincerity and truth. He honored God in his personal conversation, and in his administration of chief magistracy in this colony; and God hath given him honor in the hearts of his people. My loss and my son's, who took great contentment in his company, as he also did in his, is very great, and our grief answerable. But the public loss is far greater; and answerably it is generally bewailed, God recompensing his faithfulness with his living desired, and dying lamented. It becomes us to lay our hands upon our mouths, yea, to put our mouths in the dust, remembering whose doing this is. Yet, in respect of means, I could wish two things; first, that in his former sickness, he had wholly and only followed your directions; secondly, that he had forborne coming forth that cold day. But God's coun-

* The governor here spoken of, is Governor Newman.

sels shall stand, whose will is the first and best cause of all things; and the very errors of men shall serve to accomplish his purposes, who is holy in all his ways and righteous in all his works.

Sir, what I wrote in my former letter concerning Mrs. Coglien, I had from Anthony Elcock, who received it in the Bay, viz. that she was discontented that she had no suitors, and that she had encouraged her farmer, a mean man, to make a motion to her for marriage, which accordingly he propounded, prosecuted, and proceeded in it so far that afterwards, when she reflected upon what she had done, and what a change of her outward condition she was bringing herself into, she was discontented, despaired, and took a great quantity of ratsbane, and so died. *Fides sit penes auctorem.* Sir, I humbly thank you for the intelligence you was pleased to give me of an opportunity of transmitting a letter for London, which is a thing that I earnestly desire, and do make bold to commit it to your own care, seeing you are pleased to give me that liberty, and hearing that the vessel is yet at Hartford. The letter is of great importance. The safe and speedy handing of it to Mr. Robert Newman will be a real advantage to me, and the miscarriage of it no small disadvantage. In which respect, if you conceive it will be more speedily and certainly conveyed to him by this way than by the ship at Boston, I desire it may be sent accordingly with the more engagement for committing it to a sure hand at Barbadoes, to be delivered to Mr. Newman in London, as the matter is of more consequence; that an answer may be returned from him, by the first ship from London to Boston in the spring. Having thus opened the case, I crave leave to commit it wholly to yourself to take that course with it which you shall judge most suitable. I shall not add, but mine, my wife's and son's humble service to yourself and Mrs. Winthrop with our respectful and affectionate salutation to your son and daughters, praying the Lord to continue your life unto them, and theirs unto you, and to multiply his favors and blessings upon you and them through Jesus Christ; in whom I rest, Sir,

Yours, ever obliged,

JOHN DAVENPORT.

New Haven, this 27th d. of the 9th m. [November,] 1660.

The miscarriage of a letter which I formerly sent to London by way of Barbadoes, makes me so desirous that this may not miscarry.

*To the right worshipful* JOHN WINTHROP, Esq., *governor of Connecticut colony, these present in* [HARTFORD.]

ADDITIONAL NOTICES.

Many other particulars respecting the personal history of Davenport might be gathered from the records; but though such details have always a charm for the antiquarian, they might seem to the general reader, tedious and trifling. One incident however may be given here, as it is an additional illustration of his public spirit.

On the 11th of August, 1662, Mr. Davenport informed the town, "that he having occasion by the providence of God to go into the Bay, and understanding that there are two merchants that are lately come from England, who have a desire to come to these parts," wished to be authorized by the town to make them some such proposals as might induce them to come to this place. "They are very godly men," he said, "and belong to a Church in England, and so have a desire to have a place to sit down together (as Brother Alsop reported, and Mr. Rutherford;) they only desire home lots, and it may be, some out lots." After some discussion it was suggested that "the neck" might be "the fittest place for them." Mr. Davenport then proposed the question whether the town would give up that tract of land to these strangers, on condition of their settling here. "For his own part, he had some land there himself, and he should willingly resign up his." He argued that these merchants "would bring shipping yearly from England hither, and so cause manufacture, which is necessary if we long subsist together." The proposal being favorably received, he "further propounded whether we should not consider them as coming from London, and not knowing the state of a wilderness condition, and therefore extend our thoughts farther than their desires, so as to accommodate them with land and meadow for cows, and also liberty for cutting fire wood, and timber for building, equal with others of the planters, which may be a great encouragement to them when they should hear our thoughts extend beyond their desires. All which he purposed to acquaint them withal when he understood the town's mind herein." The result was a formal offer of "the neck," a tract of about six hundred acres, and of the other accommodations and privileges proposed.

One of those merchants, a Mr. Bache, appears to have carried on business here for many years. He purchased of the town, the house in which Gov. Winthrop, and afterwards Gov. Newman, had resided. Of the other, I have discovered no traces. It may be that they were both of that class for whom it was safest, after the restoration, to leave England.

By the kindness of that diligent and accurate investigator, Rev. Joseph B. Felt, of Boston, I have been favored with a copy of the "inventory of the goods and chattels" of Mr. Davenport, taken by James Penn, Anthony Stoddard, and Thomas Clark, on "the 22d of the 5th mo. 1670." In this inventory, the property which the deceased left in New Haven has no place. The total of the inventory, as summed up on the record, including dwelling house and land, valued at £400, and "one servant boy, £10" is £1240 18 10½. The rooms named, are the hall, the study, the upper chamber, the kitchen chamber, the garret, the parlor, the kitchen, and the cellar. The plate is estimated at £50. "Cheny [china] and earthern ware" at £5. "Pewter and tin ware" in the kitchen, £20. Every apartment named, except the study, the garret, the kitchen, and the cellar, has a bed in it. The inventory of things in the study is worth copying.

"Books prized by Mr. John Oxenbridge, our pastor, and by Mr. James Allen, our teacher, as appeared to us by a note under their hands to the value of - £233 17
A clock, with appurtenances, - - - - - 5 00
7 high chairs, 3 stools, a low chair, - - - - 3 00
A skreen, four curtain rods, four boxes, - - - 2 00
For wt. sugar, a little trunk, a box, - - - 1 05"*

More than a thousand dollars worth of books, will seem like a large library, when it is recollected that New England was then far more of a new country than the western frontier is now. These books descended to the only son of the only son, the Rev. John Davenport of Stamford. One of the volumes, at least, which Davenport

* The inventory of Mr. Street's estate on the New Haven probate records, shows a style of housekeeping quite inferior to his colleague's. The entire estate, including £136 17 5, which belonged to his wife, (he had married the relict of Gov. Newman,) and which by the will was to be hers exclusively, was only £463 16. His books were valued at £46. His plate, including the "silver drinking bowl" and the "silver wine bowl," mentioned in his will, amounted, at 6s. per ounce, to £6 9. From the catalogue of his household chattels as distinct from what were his wife's, it might be imagined that he escaped from the Plymouth colony in a somewhat impoverished condition. It is as likely, however, that some part of his property had been previously distributed among his married children. The £71 12 6 in hard money which he had by him in those hard times, was a somewhat rare accumulation.

must have got in Holland, is in the library of Yale College. Some, I believe, still remain at the seat of the family in Stamford.*

* The following catalogue of Davenport's published works is made out by comparing Wood, (Athenæ Oxon.,) Mather, Allen, and Emerson, (Hist. of First Church in Boston,) and corrected in some instances by an inspection of the works themselves.

*A Royal Edict for Military Exercises, published in a Sermon preached to the captains and gentlemen that exercise arms in the Artillery Garden, at their general meeting in Saint Andrew's Undershaft in London.* London, 1629. A copy of this is in the Atheneum Library, Boston.

*Letter to the Dutch Classis, containing a just complaint against an unjust doer, &c.*, 1634, quarto. This is a complaint against Mr. Paget's proceedings in the English Church at Amsterdam.

*Certain Instructions delivered to the Elders of the English Church deputed, which are to be propounded to the pastors of the Dutch Church in Amsterdam,* 1634. Wood calls it a quarto paper.

1. *A Report of some passages or proceedings about his calling to the English Church in Amsterdam, against John Paget.* Quarto. 2. *Allegations of Scripture against the baptizing of some kind of infants.* Quarto. 3. *Protestation about the publishing of his writings.* Quarto. These three "little scripts," as Wood calls them, were all printed at Amsterdam in 1634.

*An Apologetical Reply to a book called 'an answer to the unjust complaint of W. B.'* &c., quarto. Rotterdam, 1636. A copy of this is among the books deposited by the Old South Church in the Library of the Mass. Historical Society.

*Profession of Faith made publicly before the Congregation at his admission into one of the Churches of New England;* containing twenty several heads. 1. Concerning the Scriptures, &c. London, 1642. One sheet, quarto.

*The Messiah is already come.* A sermon on Acts ii, 36. London, 1653. Quarto. I suspect that this is the same with the work next named.

*The Knowledge of Christ, &c., wherein the types, prophecies, genealogies, miracles, humiliation, &c. of Christ are opened and applied.* Quarto, printed in 1658, or before.

*Catechism containing the chief heads of the Christian religion.* London, 1659. Octavo. Published at the desire and for the use of the Church of Christ in New Haven. Wood says that Mr. Hooke had a hand in this work.

*The Saints' Anchor-hold, in all storms and tempests, preached in sundry sermons, and published for the support and comfort of God's people in all times of trial.* London, 1661. Duodecimo. See p. 128.

*Another Essay for investigation of the truth, in answer to two questions, &c.* Cambridge, 1663. Quarto. The only copy of this work which I have been able to find, belongs to the library of the Rev. Thomas Robbins, D. D., of Rochester, Mass., to whom I am much indebted for the use of it.

*Election Sermon,* at Boston, 1669.

*God's call to his people to turn unto him, &c.*, in two sermons on two public fasting days in New England. London, 1670. Quarto.

*The power of Congregational Churches asserted and vindicated; in answer to a treatise of Mr. J. Paget's, entitled,* '*The Defense of Church Government exercised in Classes and Synods.*' London, 1672. Duodecimo. A copy of this is found in the Library of Harvard University.

*A Discourse about Civil Government in a new plantation whose design is religion.* Cambridge, 1673. Quarto.

He was also the author of a Latin Epistle to John Dury on the Union of Protestant Churches.

A long letter from him to Major General, afterwards Governor, Leverett of Boston, is among the documents published by Hutchinson in his third volume.

He also wrote several commendatory prefaces to other men's works, among which, Mather mentions an epistle before Scudder's Daily Walk, as worthy to be reckoned itself a book.

He also left ready for publication an Exposition of the Canticles, which was never published, though arrangements for printing it were commenced in London.

## No. XII.

### MADAM NOYES.

THE following sketch is from "a Sermon, occasioned by the death of Mrs. ABIGAIL NOYES, relict of the late Rev. Joseph Noyes," &c., "delivered, the Lord's day after her decease by Chauncey Whittelsey," &c.

"She was truly a gentlewoman of distinguished eminence among us; the people of this place, especially of this Church and society, almost universally knew her worth, and justly esteemed her one of the best of women. She was descended from very reputable and worthy ancestors, and had an advantageous education, and it pleased the Father of mercies, from whom comes every good and perfect gift, to endow her with superior talents and accomplishments. Her knowledge, especially in the Scriptures, and in the doctrines of the Christian religion, was very extensive and accurate. She had a delicate mind, and in wisdom and prudence she *excelled;* but her richest, brightest ornament, was a Christian spirit, and an exemplary Christian walk and conversation.

"The things of God and religion lay with the greatest weight upon her mind; this appeared from the whole tenor of her conversation, and particularly under the sore trials which she underwent when much overborne, (as she repeatedly was,) with religious melancholy. For when at such times she questioned her own integrity, she discovered the deepest concern, and was at seasons in mere anguish of spirit, not so much because of her own dangerous estate, as from an apprehension of the dishonor she did or might do to God, and to the Redeemer.

"The interest of Christ's kingdom lay near her heart, the advancement of which she attempted, not only by prayer to the God of all grace, but also by her serious, instructive discourse, managed with admirable pertinency and discretion, according to the condition and character of different persons; and by many little projections, judiciously formed and executed. For to do good appeared to be her study and delight. Who among us but could testify of her savory, religious conversation, when 'she opened her mouth with wisdom, and on her tongue was the law of kindness?'

"She highly prized the public worship of God, and the ordinances of his house; and acted with honor in the several relations that she sustained as a wife, a parent, a sister, and a friend. As she advanced in life, she appeared to grow in grace, and was more and more engaged to do good. She was especially concerned for the education of children, and the good of the rising generation; accordingly she herself kept a free school in her own house for a considerable time toward the latter part of her life, and by her will, laid a foundation for the instruction of poor children, yet unborn. During the last year of her life, her *faith* and *patience*, her *piety* and *goodness*, has shone forth with peculiar and (I was ready to say, from every opportunity of conversing with her and observing) with increasing lustre: and it pleased God to purify her, and ripen her for glory by some peculiar dispensations.

"It is now almost a year since it was the divine pleasure to take away from her (and from us!) her only son, lovely in the eyes of all, and especially dutiful and tender to her. How were her friends then apprehensive, that she would sink down under the infirmities of old age, and the pressures of that sore affliction! But she bore the shock at the time, and has sustained the loss ever since, to the day of her death, with surprising steadiness of mind and Christian fortitude. I have often thought that the supports of divine grace appeared in her more conspicuous than in any instance I ever saw. Truly it appeared, that 'her heart was fixed, trusting in the Lord.' By that affliction she was tried and purified like gold that hath passed through the furnace. But God was pleased after this, to ripen her more fully for glory, by another remarkable incident. Some months before she died, she was by a sudden disorder brought even to the valley of the shadow of death; but when she appeared to be just expiring, and the blaze was, for an instant, parted from the lamp, God said, return. She revived. This event she regarded and improved as an admonition from her heavenly father. Accordingly, from this time she appeared to live more above the world, and to be more engaged in doing good, especially to the souls of those with whom she was concerned, standing daily in actual readiness for her departure.

"In one word, she has been long a bright ornament to this Church, and a great blessing to this place; to her have those words been often applied, 'Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all.' But she has finished her course, and we doubt not, now inherits the promises."

## No. XIII.

### DR. DANA'S INSTALLATION.

APPENDED to Dr. Dana's sermon, at his own installation, is the confession of faith, if so it may be called, addressed by him to the installing council.

"*Mr. Moderator*,—Most of the members of this venerable council have been well acquainted with my religious sentiments for many years. A free communication of them on this occasion may, perhaps, be desired by some, and not be disagreeable to any.

"The eternal existence and infinite perfections of God are manifest from the frame of nature. The *priori* argument is either inconclusive, or unnecessary, or too high a road for the comprehension of an ordinary intellect. The other is level to every mind, and convincing as soon as proposed.

"The divine unity is apparent from unity of design in the works of nature, and from the contradiction implied in the supposition of two or more infinite beings. One such being could produce all the phenomena of nature. That there should be two or more, would be to suppose an unnecessary deity or deities—a sentiment repugnant to absolute perfection.

"The natural government of God is evident from the conservation of all things and uniform course of events. His moral perfections and administration appear from the moral nature of man, from observation of the administration of providence, and apprehension of the future consequences of virtue and vice. God cannot, therefore, be the efficient of moral evil. He that committeth sin, and he only, is the efficient cause or author of it. Goodness (implying perfect wisdom and rectitude) appears to be the divine plan—a plan apparently pursued in the present state. The completion of this plan being reserved to a future state, the elucidations of eternity must explain the present seeming irregularities of providence. I can neither approve nor understand the reasoning of those who undertake to solve all objections on this subject.

"A being of infinite perfection could not make creatures wicked; nor withdraw his influence from his creatures but in consequence of

their forsaking him. The original rectitude and present apostacy of mankind must therefore be maintained. Whence moral evil sprang, or how the liberty of finite agents consists with the infinite knowledge of God, I do not find that the Scriptures have explained, and therefore excuse myself from attempting an explanation. That sin is in the world, and that man in particular is a free and accountable agent, are not matters of speculation, but of fact and experience. Our speculations must yield to practical principles, not these to those.

"Revelation, Christianity in particular, I admit on the authority of the revealer. Human faith and divine agree in this, that each is founded on testimony. They differ in this, that the former is founded on the testimony of man, the latter on the testimony of God, which is greater. Signs and wonders, miracles and gifts of the Holy Ghost, proved that the Scriptures were the word of God. To deny the possibility of miracles, is to deny the possibility of a revelation, these being the confirmation of it. One miracle at least was necessary to prove Christianity to be true; even the resurrection of Jesus. And this indeed proved it beyond contradiction. Admitting this, there can be no objection to the admission of the other facts of Christianity. The apostles were competent judges whether Jesus rose from the dead. If competent judges, they were also competent witnesses. They were as credible witnesses as they were competent. They testified the resurrection in plain and unadorned language, as honest men would declare any common fact—testified it amidst poverty and ignominy, persecution and death. Had there been fraud, it must have been detected. They themselves wrought miracles in confirmation of their testimony. Those who saw the miracles of the apostles, but saw not Jesus after he rose from the dead, had the authority of miracles for their faith in his resurrection. The apostles themselves really believed the resurrection, because they died for their opinion. This being a matter obvious to sense, in judging of which, persons of the meanest capacities could not be deceived, the resurrection must doubtless be true, if they believed it.

"The original confirmation of Christianity was sufficient for after years; but the fulfilment of prophecy has been an additional and perpetual confirmation. Its extensive propagation, surprising success, and present existence, all circumstances considered, further prove this counsel to be of God. The testimonies of Jews and heathen, as well as of Christians, establish the facts. The doctrine of this religion, its moral precepts, the example of its author, its sanctify-

ing influence, and the conversation of its true disciples, all concur to prove it divine. I am therefore settled in the belief of it.

"The peculiar titles, attributes, and prerogatives of God are claimed by, and given to, the author of this religion. Such as, *The Almighty; I am that I am; the same yesterday, to day, and forever; I am he that searcheth the hearts and reins. All things were created by him, and for him, and by him all things consist.* His divinity and humanity are thus declared by St. Paul: *God was manifest in the flesh. All the angels worship him.* We are commanded to *honor* him *even as we honor the Father.*

"The scriptures are express in giving the appellation of God to 'the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,' and in declaring that 'these three are one.' But *great is the mystery of godliness.*

"The imputation of the offense of the first Adam, and of the righteousness of the second, appear to me to be the doctrine of St. Paul; though I do not suppose that either implies a transfer of personal qualities. I view the atonement of the Mediator as the object of justifying faith. I consider faith as the general condition or qualification of the gospel, involving a principle of holiness; so that the subject of it submits to the yoke of Christ, is filled with the fruits of righteousness, and patiently continues in well doing. Grace and the atonement are exalted when the sinner is humbled, and from being the servant of sin, becomes the servant of righteousness.

"The doctrine of the necessity of a special divine influence to beget and maintain saving faith, I esteem one of the doctrines and glories of the gospel, intimately connected with the atonement, and without which, Christ must have died in vain.

"The Scriptures (so far as I have learned them) give us no example of a final falling from grace. Believers are kept by the power of God, who performs his own work until the day of Jesus Christ.

"*Faith*, as the apostle teacheth, *cometh by hearing—by the word of God.* This word is the medium of regeneration. A preparatory work of grace, the conduciveness of the means to effect the end of religion, I do not once question. There are, as I suppose, many unprofitable, unscriptural, and dangerous speculations on the state of the unregenerate, the use of means, moral agency and human endeavors—speculations which have contributed greatly to the spread of skepticism and infidelity. None more so than the doctrine of the greater enmity of sinners in proportion to their illumination, and present solicitude about their spiritual interests; con-

nected with which, is the blasphemous opinion of God's being the cause of moral evil.

"Some make it a term of salvation that a person be willing to be damned. Were the thing possible, which this opinion supposeth, I see not but the damnation of such persons would not only be just, but inevitable.

"Baptism is the only form of admission into the Christian church; nor do I find either precept or example in scripture for professing the faith of our Lord Jesus a second time, as a term of communion at his table. It is agreed that there is but one covenant, one faith. In the churches where the practice of owning the baptismal covenant obtains, there is no objection to the admission of the person covenanting, to full communion. The objection is only in his own mind. This practice was introduced in condescension to tender consciences.

"Mr. Moderator, the time permits me only to suggest my sentiments in a general way on the doctrines and evidences of religion. I acknowledge no other than the protestant rule of faith, the bible. My aim is to *preach the word.*"

President Stiles in his Literary Diary, noticing "the installment of Dr. Dana, bishop of the First Church in this city," says, "This was a critical transaction, as it involved some reference to the old Wallingford controversy of 1758, when Dr. Dana was ordained." Under a later date he refers again to the installation for the sake of introducing the questions which Dr. Dana proposed to Dr. Edwards in reply to, or rather in retaliation for, the questions which Dr. Edwards had addressed to him. Dr. Dana's questions are as follows:

"Is every idea and volition of the creature excited by the Creator?

"Can any being will and effect sin, and yet not will and effect the *sinfulness* of sin?

"Is God, or the creature, the efficient cause of the sinfulness of sin?

"Doth sinfulness consist in *volition* itself, or in the *execution* of volition?

"Is all the sinfulness that is, or ever was in the world, for the best?

"Do those moral agents, whether men or devils, who have most exerted themselves in promoting this part of the moral plan, deserve commendation in proportion to such their exertions.

"Ought we to give *thanks* for all the sins of men and infernals?

"Is the enmity of the unregenerate to God and holiness increased in proportion to their illumination and solicitude about the concerns of salvation?

"Is it the duty of the unregenerate (continuing so) to pray? Or have they any encouragement to pray?

"Are there any means of regeneration?

"Is the first offense of Adam imputed to his posterity?

"Was that offense our personal act?

"Is human depravity limited to any *one* faculty, or doth it extend to all the faculties?

"Is it a term of salvation, that a person *be willing to be damned?* Or were Moses and Paul willing to be damned for the salvation of their people?

"Are such qualifications requisite to Christian communion, as none but the searcher of hearts can judge of?

"Are all those points which are fundamental to one Christian, fundamental to all?

"Must we exclude from Christian fellowship all those who do not admit all the points that are fundamental to us?

"Hath any man, or body of men, authority from Christ to make any thing necessary to salvation and Christian communion which the Holy Ghost hath not clearly and expressly declared to be so, in Scripture?

"May any man, or body of men, determine that their own interpretation is the certain and infallible sense of Scripture?"

Dr. Stiles adds, that he copied these questions "from the original paper which Dr. Dana had before him in his own handwriting in council, at the time of asking the questions, and from which he asked the questions. Dr. Edwards asked his questions also from a prepared paper, which he brought into the council, took out of his pocket, and used."

Dr. Stiles subjoins two other questions which he says were on Dr. Dana's paper, but crossed, and he does not remember whether they were asked.

"Is there a tendency in the means of grace to effect the end of religion?

"Doth the Spirit improve the word of truth as a means of regeneration?"

It is not too much to say, that a manifest object of these questions was—as the object of such questionings and of theological controver-

sies too often is—to excite odium against supposed innovators in theology. If we had Dr. Edwards's questions addressed to Dr. Dana, it would not be strange to find them framed with a similar intent.

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### MISCELLANEOUS CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

THE note on page 16, was added in a hasty moment, and contains an error. Trumbull (I, 251) gives the information, which I had forgotten, that one of the first acts of Connecticut after receiving the charter was, "that the same colony seal should be continued." The three vines appear to have been the arms of Connecticut, from the time when the three towns of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield, were planted in that rich valley.

The New Haven colony too had its seal, the device of which was left to the judgment of Governor Eaton, and which was received from England—a present from Governor Hopkins—when the printed laws were received in 1655. I have taken pains, but unsuccessfully, to find some traces of the armorial bearings of the New Haven colony. The device is probably one of the things lost on earth:

> "Nor ever more
> Herald or antiquary's patient search
> Shall from forgetfulness avail to save
> Those blazoned arms."

In reference to the three vines, let me add from the same poet,

> "But oblivion ne'er
> Shall cancel from the historic roll; nor time
> Who changeth all, obscure that fated sign."

Another error which escaped a more seasonable correction, is in the word "polygonal" on page 208. The old meeting-house of 1668, was I believe quadrangular, with a pyramidal roof, of which the apex was surmounted with a belfry. I have seen those who remembered it; though I know not that any such person is now living. The bell-rope came down into the middle of the broad aisle; and if my recollections do not deceive me, the stairs mounting to the galleries, were on the outside of the building.

I find another slight error on page 256. The Episcopal Churches in New England were opened *before* the close of the revolutionary war. In the autumn of 1778, the bishop of London sent over an

order to the clergy under his government in America, to open their Churches, and perform divine service according to the liturgy, omitting the prayers for the king and royal family. Dr. Hubbard accordingly opened his Church in this city on the 20th of December, 1778, for the first time after the declaration of independence.—Stiles's Lit. Diary.

Some account of the dates of the several ecclesiastical edifices in New Haven, may be added here.

The house of worship occupied by the first Church and Society, commonly called the Center Church, was erected in the years 1813 and 1814, at an expense of about $34,000. It was dedicated on the 27th of December, 1814.

The house of worship occupied by the Church and Congregation of the United Society, commonly called the North Church, and the Episcopal house of worship, called Trinity Church, were erected simultaneously in the years 1814 and 1815, the former at an expense of about $30,000, the latter at an expense of about $28,000.

The Methodist Episcopal Church on the northwest corner of the public square, was erected in 1821. The walls and roof had just been finished, when by the great gale of September, 1821, they were laid prostrate to the foundation. It was immediately rebuilt.

The Baptist Church was erected in 1824, and enlarged in 1837.

The Church at the corner of Chapel and Union streets, was erected by the Third Congregational Society in 1828 and 1829, at an expense of $18,000, including the land.

The Episcopal place of worship, called St. Paul's Chapel, was also erected in 1828 and 1829, at an expense of about $17,000, including the land.

The Congregational Church in Fair Haven was erected in 1829 and 1830, at an expense of about $9,000.

The Roman Catholic Chapel was erected in 1834.

The Methodist Church in Fair Haven was erected in 1835.

The Congregational Church in Westville was erected in 1835.

The Free Church (Congregational) was erected in 1835 and 1836, at an expense of about $16,000, including the land and the rooms in the basement.

The Episcopal Church in Westville, St. James's Church, was erected in 1837.

Besides these, there is a convenient little edifice, occupied by the congregation of colored people in Temple street, and another in Westville, occupied by the Methodist congregation there.

There are then in the town of New Haven, exclusive of the Chapel of Yale College, fifteen edifices, devoted to the use of as many religious assemblies. Several of these are very large and costly, and are among the finest specimens of Church architecture in New England; generally they are neat and attractive; and all of them are commodious and pleasant to the worshipers.

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The portraits which accompany this volume are of unquestionable authenticity. That of the venerable Davenport is from an ancient, and doubtless original picture, which has been long in the possession of Yale College, and which from a date on a corner of the canvass, seems to have been painted not long before his death. Of Mr. Pierpont, an ancient portrait remains in the possession of his great granddaughter, Mrs. Foster, of this city. This picture, before it falls to pieces, ought to be copied, and placed in the Trumbull Gallery. The portrait of Mr. Whittelsey, copied by the engraver, was painted by an artist named De la Noy, and is now in the possession of his daughter in this city. And the striking resemblance of Dr. Dana's most peculiar features, is from a miniature by Dickinson, now belonging to E. Dana Comstock, Esq., of New York.

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